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**CORRESPONDENCE**  
**OF**  
**SIR THOMAS HANMER, BART.**



THE  
CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
SIR THOMAS HANMER, BART.  
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WITH  
A Memoir of his Life.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,  
OTHER RELICKS OF A GENTLEMAN'S FAMILY.

EDITED  
BY SIR HENRY BUNBURY, BART.

LONDON:  
EDWARD MOXON, DOVER STREET.

MDCCCXXXVIII.

599.



## PREFACE.

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WHEN I venture to bring the miscellaneous contents of the present volume before the publick, I feel that some explanation, if not some apology, may be necessary. The concerns of a private family cannot be expected to excite in general readers that degree of interest with which partiality invests them in the estimation of one, who, while turning over the papers of his forefathers, dwells with pleasure on details and illustrations of character, with which his earliest recollections were interwoven. But there is a gratification even in the attempt to rescue the memory of our ancestors from entire oblivion; and it is hoped that, in the present instance, the various materials, which have been selected out of the



papers in my possession, may deserve the notice of readers of different tastes and descriptions. Among the papers of the Speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer, will be found letters interesting both to the lover of Literature and the investigator of History ; while those who are fond of Poetry, may forgive me for publishing the quaint extracts from Sir Henry North's romance, and more readily for challenging the meed of publick estimation for my unfortunate cousin, Henry Soame : many are still living who must remember his brilliant talents and his untimely fate. The account of France, written in 1648, by the first Sir Thomas Hanmer, contains, I am aware, many details which will have a better chance of finding favour in the eyes of an antiquary than in those of general readers ; yet there are passages of some historical interest, and the paper is curious as exhibiting the view taken, by an English gentleman, resident in France, of the state of that kingdom during the minority of Louis the XIVth. An outline of the Hanmer, North, and Bunbury Pedigrees, has appeared to be necessary, as serving to shew the connection of these families, and to give authenticity to the materials in my possession.

In the houses of British gentlemen there must exist large collections of papers, forgotten or neglected, which, if they were brought to light, might extend or vary our views on many subjects of historical, biographical, or literary interest. These hidden sources of information are cut off, through neglect or accident, as time rolls on or the recollections of the proprietors decay: one anecdote will suffice as an example. The late Earl of Clancarty, when still in his boyhood, had found access to a chest in his grandfather's house in Ireland, containing a vast quantity of French letters, addressed to his ancestor, Mr. Le Poer, by his dear friend, Count Antoine Hamilton, who had kept up a constant correspondence with him for many years, and had written all that passed under his eye in the Court and Camps of Louis the XIVth. How Hamilton would have described these scenes, and the characters that figured in them, my readers may well imagine. The young man was enchanted with the letters: but at the time of his grandfather's death he was unfortunately travelling on the Continent. On his return to Ireland, he made eager inquiries after the box, and with some difficulty he ascertained that it had been removed

a year or two before to the house of an old female relation. As soon as his business left him leisure, Lord Clancarty posted away to his aunt's residence. She remembered something of there being such a box :—"Oh yes, it contains a great heap of old French letters ; it is in the cellar." To the cellar Lord Clancarty repaired, and there he found indeed the well-remembered box, but falling to pieces from the effects of damp, and containing only a pulp of mouldy fragments, on which the writing could no longer be distinguished. And thus perished the correspondence of Antoine Hamilton !

I have not papers of equal interest to draw forth from my old boxes, but I am desirous to rescue from future hazards the best of what my house affords ; and I feel a strong confidence that among the miscellaneous letters which will be found in this volume, there are many which deserve and will command the attention and admiration of my readers. All the originals are in my possession, and all have come to me from sources with which I have in some way or another a family connection. There is one letter, indeed, the only one written by a person who is still living, which imposes on me the duty of offering my

apologies to the distinguished writer for publishing it without having solicited his permission. But I have resolved to take the reproach on myself, rather than run the risk of a refusal, and thus deprive the world of a piece which reflects the purest honour on its author, and is calculated to warm and improve the feelings of those who read it. I allude to the letter addressed to Mr. Fox, by Mr. Wordsworth, on the condition of the labouring classes in England.

The Memoir of Charles Lee, the American General (who was a first-cousin of my father), is inserted because he attracted a great deal of notice in his time, a share of high admiration, and a good deal of abuse. He was indeed a singular character, endowed with large talents and many high qualities; and if a wide or more favourable field had been open to his ambition, he might probably have won for his statue a distinguished place in the temple of Fame.

I cannot conclude this introductory note without expressing the obligations I feel myself to be under to Mr. Mackintosh, for the liberal permission he was so good as to grant me of examining his father's (Sir James Mackintosh's) invaluable collection of

papers. with the view of obtaining additional information respecting the political conduct of the Speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer. The extract from these MSS., which I have inserted in my memoir of that statesman, will be found to throw additional light on the political intrigues of the last years of Queen Anne, and the beginning of the reign of George the First.

HENRY EDW. BUNBURY.

*London,*  
*June 6th, 1838.*

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MEMOIR  
OF  
SIR THOMAS HANMER.

---

THE family of the Hanmers of Hanmer is of ancient distinction in the marches of North Wales. Their pedigree, which will be found in the Appendix, shows their connexions with the lords of Powys, with Prince Llewellyn, with the renowned Glyndwr, and with the Tudys. The first lord of Hanmer appears to have been a leader of eminence in the armies of Henry the Third. He is styled in the pedigree Sir John of Macklesfield, but there seems to be room for a conjecture, that he was (quære Mackelfeldt?) a captain of some of the Brabant bands, who were employed by that monarch in his frequent wars with the Welsh. However, all we know of this military progenitor of the family is, that he settled himself, in the reign of Henry, at

Hanmer in Flintshire, and that his descendants have borne the name of the estate which he acquired.

In the reign of Charles the First, we find Sir Thomas Hanmer (the second baronet of the family) attending on the person of the king. The pedigree styles him "Cupbearer." His portrait by Vandyck, which is in my possession, shows him to have been a very handsome man; nor were personal graces bestowed on him in vain. He married first an heiress, and secondly a beauty. The former of these, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Baker of Whittingham Hall, in Suffolk, was one of the maids of honour to Henrietta Maria, and succeeded to a considerable estate in that county on the death of her brother. The second wife was Susan, daughter of Sir William Hervey, of Ickworth, a lady celebrated for her personal charms and her engaging manners. Through these marriages came the first connexion of the Hanmers with the county of Suffolk, which the subject of our present memoir afterwards represented in parliament.

When the cause of Charles the First, and the fortunes of his adherents, had become desperate, Sir Thomas Hanmer retired with his family to France, where he resided some years, and where his youngest son, William, was born in March, 1648. About

1652 or 1653 he obtained from Cromwell a permission to return to England, and an ordinance for the naturalization of his child. But there probably remained in the mind of the Protector some jealousy of the cavalier's influence in his native county; and it seems likely that the latter was obliged to reside in Suffolk, where he lived in retirement till the restoration of Charles the Second. Immediately afterwards, Sir Thomas resumed possession of his estate in Wales; and when the new parliament was summoned he took his seat as the representative of Flintshire. When unoccupied by the duties of this trust, Sir Thomas Hanmer appears to have devoted himself to his favourite pursuits of gardening and planting, and in improving his residence, Bettisfield Park. He died in 1678, leaving one son and one daughter by his first marriage, and one son, William, by the second. I possess some manuscripts by this first Sir Thomas Hanmer, particularly notes on the government and condition of France written during his exile; and some treatises on gardening, miniature-painting, &c., which leave a very favourable impression of him as a gentleman of taste, acquirements, and judicious observation. Extracts from these papers will be found in the Appendix.

Sir John Hanmer succeeded to the estates of his



father, as well as to that of his mother, the heiress of the Bakers. His sister, Trevor, was that singular woman who, after she had married Sir John Warner of Parham, and while she was yet young and beautiful, took a resolution to abjure the Protestant religion, and to immure herself for life in a foreign nunnery. But perhaps it was a still more remarkable circumstance, that she had sufficient influence over her husband to induce him to take a similar course, and abandoning his estates and the land of his fathers, to become a monk in Flanders\*. Sir John Hanmer served with distinction in the armies of William the Third, and held the rank of major-general at the time of his death, in 1701.

The successive marriages of Sir Thomas Hanmer had connected his children with some of the principal families in Suffolk; and those connexions were extended by the early marriage of William, the son of Sir Thomas by his second wife, Susan Hervey, with one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Henry North of Mildenhall. William Hanmer died in his father's lifetime, leaving two children, Susan, who married Sir Henry Bunbury, of Stanney, in

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\* The Life of "the Lady Warner of Parham, in Religion called Sister Clare of Jesus," was published in London (2nd Edition) 1692.

Cheshire, and Thomas, who is the subject of this memoir.

He was born on the 24th of September, 1677, at Bettisfield Park, the seat of his grandfather ; and he was educated at Westminster, and Oxford (where Dr. Robert Friend was his tutor). Upon the death of his uncle, Sir John, in 1701, he succeeded to his title and estates, while in right of his mother he had already inherited the property of the Norths, of Mildenhall. Thomas Hanmer is described as being tall and handsome in his person, and graceful and dignified in his manners. He carried from Oxford the reputation of being a good classical scholar ; and the course of his after-life showed that he possessed a taste for the fine arts, a critical judgment, and a clear understanding. With these advantages he had, on his first appearance in the world, captivated the affections of Isabella, the widow of Charles, the first Duke of Grafton, and to her Mr. Hanmer was married when he was little more than twenty-one. The duchess (of whom a short account will be found in another part of this volume) was about ten years older than this her second husband ; but she was still considered as one of the most striking beauties of the court. Her illustrious connexions brought him at once into the great world as a person of

importance, and introduced him to the acquaintance of men of the highest rank and most powerful influence. The life-income of the duchess was very considerable ; and when her husband succeeded, two years after his marriage, to the estates of his own family, he took his place as a person of great weight in the kingdom, with respect to fortune, connexions, and rising character. In the year succeeding his uncle's death, 1702, Sir Thomas Hanmer was elected to represent his native county of Flint in the first parliament of Queen Anne. The accession of this sovereign had opened fresh hopes, and given new vigour, to the tory party in England ; nor were there discernible at that period the shades of difference, or the motives of discordance, which afterwards paralysed this powerful faction. At the moment of Anne's accession to the crown, all the tories were united by a common hatred of the whigs, and by a deep detestation of the protestant dissenters, who had found toleration and protection under the reign of William. Sir Thomas Hanmer entered the House of Commons in the twenty-fifth year of his age, already imbued with that attachment to the royal prerogative, and that unlimited reverence for the church of England, which marked the whole of his political career. He appears to have spoken seldom on general

subjects of debate ; but his fortune and character, his habits of business, and judicious conduct, brought him early into consideration as a man of importance. Cautious, however, and reserved, and probably inclining towards Marlborough and Godolphin, before their complete connexion with the whigs, he took no very active part in politics till the high-church ferment, and the triumph of the tory party in 1710\*. At that memorable crisis we find Sir Thomas Hanmer invited by the Duke of Shrewsbury† to become one of the five commissioners to whom the treasury was to be confided on the dismissal of Godolphin. It is worthy of remark that Shrewsbury's letter, communicating the resolution of the queen to make this important change, is dated on the morning of the 2nd of August, though her majesty granted two audiences to the lord treasurer *on the 7th*, and lulled his growing suspicions with assurances of her desire that he should remain in her service. On the following day she was prepared to throw away the mask ;

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\* See, however, Swift's letter to Archbishop King, of Feb. 5th, 1708 : " The great question whether the number of men in Spain and Portugal, at the time of the battle of Almanza, was but 8600, when there ought to have been 29,600, was carried on Tuesday in the affirmative, against the court, without a division, which was occasioned by Sir Thomas Hanmer's oratory."

† See Correspondence.

Godolphin was dismissed, and the new commissioners were publicly appointed. Of these, however, Hanmer was not one; he had probably declined the invitation, though I have not found any minute of his answer to Shrewsbury. His refusal might have occasioned some difficulty in the designed arrangements, and have caused a delay which made it expedient for the queen to temporise with Godolphin. Her aptitude for deception, and her readiness to employ it, are admitted by the contemporary writers of both parties, as fully as the polished manners which threw a gauzy veil over the weakness of her understanding. But while Sir Thomas Hanmer shrank from a ministerial office, he assumed a more prominent and active part in the House of Commons, and during the four succeeding years he was regarded as one of the most influential members of that assembly.

Though the dismissal of Godolphin had been preceded by a succession of affronts levelled at him and the Duke of Marlborough, yet it was not till the treasurer was thus unceremoniously thrust out of office, that his whig colleagues appear to have been fully aware of their danger. Up to this time the ambiguity and the dexterous duplicity of Harley, seem to have been successful in veiling from them

the full extent of the influence which he had acquired over the queen, and the wide-spreading changes which he meditated. Even now, if Marlborough had freely thrown up the command of the army, and Somers, Cowper, and the whigs, had at the same moment relinquished their offices, the intrigue might have been nipped in the bud ; but the great captain clung to command and emolument, and some of the whigs had wilfully shut their eyes to the insult levelled at their leaders, in the base hope of making terms for their own advantage. Harley was totally unprepared for a sudden and general resignation ; his plans seem to have been laid with the view of splitting and breaking up the opposite party by degrees, rather than with that of overthrowing the administration bodily, and encountering the united enmity of their opposition. Thus he was cajoling some with professions of a desire to form a mixed government, while he was prompting affronts to others in the hope of their resigning in disgust. He plucked but a leaf at a time, and ventured only by degrees to dismiss those who stood most in the way of his ambition. This spirit of *management*, of gradual encroachment, and ostensible moderation, was continued even after the resignation of the Lords Somers and Cowper, and of nearly all their coadjutors.

The ministerial revolution had been the work of personal motives, rather than of political principles. It is probable, that the old predilections of the queen inclined her at all times to prefer a cabinet of tories; but her indolence, and the narrowness of her ideas, made her more solicitous to have ministers who would court her favour, defer to her caprices, and indulge her in the full enjoyment of her petty fancies, than careful to select men calculated to uphold the dignity of her throne, and advance the interests of her people. The great personal point with Anne had been, to liberate herself from the coarse insolence of the Duchess of Marlborough; but with this feeling there came to be mingled a strong preference for the adroit and agreeable Harley, a preference which seems to have become, for a time, independent of the facility with which she allowed herself to be turned and guided by her favourite, Mrs. Masham. Still Anne would probably have been satisfied with the expulsion of the imperious duchess, the dismissal of Sunderland (to whom the queen appears to have borne a personal antipathy), and the admission of Harley into the cabinet; but the latter knew full well that the mere favour of the sovereign could afford him no security, nor any scope for his growing ambition. He still smarted under the

disgrace of his expulsion from the ministry in 1707; and he felt himself to be the particular object of jealousy and hatred in the eyes of Marlborough and Godolphin, as well as of the most distinguished whigs. Yet Harley was not a tory; his early impressions had been those of the adverse party; and as he had mixed with both factions, it is not unlikely that he should have discovered in both a proportion of wavering and venal men, whom he hoped to draw together under the banner of the court, and establish for himself a premiership independent of the more stubborn and conscientious leaders of either party. Harley, therefore, was probably sincere, when he professed a desire to form a mixed government; he wished to compose his cabinet of men who should be free from the ties of party, regardless of political principles, and united only in their subserviency to him. Even in restoring his former colleague, the eloquent and accomplished St. John, to a post in the new administration, he appears to have felt an early misgiving of the danger to his own power which might be generated by the daring character and brilliant talents of his tory friend. But the project of forming a mixed administration out of the two parties was disappointed. The whigs, in general, shrank from the alliance; and Harley was obliged



to complete his cabinet by selecting the most manageable men he could find among the tories. A dissolution of the parliament, in which the former ministers still retained a powerful influence, was necessary to consolidate the new government. The elections, which took place while the Sacheverel frenzy, and the cry of "The church is in danger," were raging through the land, sent to the House of Commons not merely a majority of tories, but a large proportion of high-church fanatics, breathing vengeance against the whigs and the dissenters. The headlong violence of these men soon became extremely embarrassing to the new premier; his cautious and temporising course of policy was received by them with an impatience which soon passed into suspicion. They called for the impeachment of the late ministers, and the expulsion of every whig, and every man of doubtful politics, whom the moderation, or the secret views of Harley, still retained in office. Their discontent was soon evinced in the most alarming manner by a large association of members of parliament, under the well-known name of the October Club. Some of these agitators were Jacobites, some not; but they were as yet linked together by their common hatred of the whigs, and urged onward by the furious zeal which the progress

of Sacheverel had excited through the country. This club of ultra-tories comprehended at its outset a formidable proportion of the members of the House of Commons; and Sir Thomas Hanmer has been named (though I think on doubtful grounds) as being the most active and influential of its leaders\*. To maintain, without qualification or compromise, the ascendancy of the high-church interest, and to support the power of the crown, so long as the wearer of the crown should uphold the predominating influence of the Anglican church, were the ruling principles of the October Club. Though both Harley and St. John felt it necessary, for the common object of excluding the former ministers from power, to conciliate this stubborn and formidable band of ultra-tories; yet one may readily conceive, that neither of them (though their mutual distrusts struck root in the first months of their administration) could have regarded with friendly eyes this association of independent men, bent on controlling the measures of the government, and forcing it into a particular and violent course of action.

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\* This is asserted positively by Macpherson; but there is a passage in Swift's *Journal to Stella* (April 12th, 1711) which inclines me to believe, that Lord Anglesey and Hanmer exercised a great influence over the club, but were not themselves members of it.

Harley had nothing of the bitterness of party at his heart, though his selfish ambition and intriguing spirit had thrown him into the arms of the tories, and made him dependent on their support: his aims were personal aggrandizement, and the quiet enjoyment of the power he had acquired; while St. John, whose sceptical opinions must have led him to despise the zealots of the thirty-nine articles, and whose consciousness of high abilities must have prompted him to spurn their political control, was equally with Harley averse from the line of conduct prescribed by Hanmer and the high-churchmen\*. The early vigilance and dexterity of the ministers baffled the first designs and soon dissolved the unity of the October Club. The more sensitive of its members took alarm, and withdrew themselves from the society. It split into smaller divisions; and from this time one begins to distinguish that section of politicians whom Swift has styled "the Hanover tories," and whom Bolingbroke sneers at as the "Whimsicals." At the head of this party stood the Earls of Nottingham and Anglesey among the Peers, and Hanmer in the House of Commons. The de-

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\* There are, however, some signs of St. John's having managed to ingratiate himself with the high tories at the expense of Harley.

sire of the ministers to engage the latter in the immediate service of the crown increased in proportion to their sense of his increasing influence. The accidental danger to which Harley's life had been exposed by the despair of Guiscard had refreshed his popularity, and rallied the tories by reviving their fears of the return of Godolphin and the whigs to power : it afforded to Anne an opportunity to raise her favourite minister to the peerage, and commit to his charge the high office of lord treasurer ; and one of the first acts of the new Earl of Oxford was to address a letter to Hanmer, "repeating his desires" that he would accept office \*. These solicitations were renewed, as we shall find, in the two following years, but they were uniformly rejected. The love of independence seems to have been a stronger passion with Hanmer than that of power ; nor does he appear at any time to have been completely free from a distrust of the honesty of Harley and St. John ; still they continued to court him, and yet more assiduously after the meeting of Parliament at the close of 1711, when Lord Nottingham had gone frankly into opposition. To conciliate Hanmer and his party, the ministers named him to be chairman of

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\*See Correspondence, Lord Oxford's Letter of June 3rd, 1711.

the committee appointed to consider and report upon the state of the nation. On the 1st of March he laid before the House of Commons the celebrated "Representation," which was adopted by the House, and carried up to the queen on the 4th. This able and elaborate state paper was composed by Hanmer, and it probably was, in the original draught, a more violent attack on the former ministers, and on their foreign allies, than what was actually presented to parliament. Swift, when writing to Stella, on the 29th of February, and speaking of the report on which Sir Thomas was engaged, says, "I believe it will be a *pepperer*;" but St. John attended carefully on Hanmer's labour; and, while he professed to supply him with the necessary materials, he probably took occasion to soften down much of the asperity, and with the same object he contrived to introduce Swift as an assistant in the work. This paper produced a great sensation; it came forth as the manifesto of the triumphant tories, and as a justification of their conduct not only towards the Duke of Marlborough and his late colleagues, but also towards the allies of England on the continent. "Nothing," says Swift, "could more amply justify the proceedings of the queen and her ministers, for two years past, than this famous representation; the unbiassed

wisdom of the nation, after the strictest inquiry, confirming those facts upon which her counsels were grounded ; and many persons who were before inclined to believe that the allies and the late ministry had been too much loaded by the malice, misrepresentations, or ignorance of writers, were now fully convinced of their mistake by so great an authority \*."

It is not the purpose of this memoir to encroach on the province of history, or to expatiate on the political transactions of those times, beyond what may be necessary to throw light on the public conduct of Sir Thomas Hanmer. His "representation" had given additional weight to his character in parliament, and had at the same time been of great service to the queen's ministers. It had paved the way for the peace which they contemplated, and even for the defection of England from her alliance with Holland and the Empire, by exciting a popular clamour against these powers. The Representation set forth the original stipulations between England and her allies on the Continent, with respect to the proportion of troops, ships, and money, which they were severally engaged to supply. It showed that there

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\* See Swift's " Four last Years."

such large supplies as had been unknown to former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that, in which they were necessarily engaged, to a speedy conclusion. But they have been very unhappy in the event, whilst they have so much reason to suspect, that what was intended to shorten the war hath proved the very cause of its long continuance; for those to whom the profits of it have accrued, have not been disposed easily to forego them. And your majesty will from hence discern the true reason why so many have delighted in a war, which brought in so rich a harvest yearly from Great Britain."

The tendency of the representation, therefore, was to create in the British people a disgust of their allies, as well as to rouse their resentment against Marlborough, Godolphin, and their colleagues. A desire for peace had become very general through the kingdom; but the nation was still proud of their unprecedented triumphs; they still associated with their victories the glorious names of Marlborough and Prince Eugene; nor had they yet forgotten that the Dutch, and other confederates, had been their steady supporters in battle and in council. The English desired peace, as nations are wont to do when they become sensible of the accumulating

burthen of war taxes ; but they forgot not that their arms had bent the gigantic power of Louis beneath their feet ; and while they desired relief from war, they had confined their wishes to such a peace as should crown their great exertions with honour, advantage, and permanent security \*. The objects of Oxford and St. John, however, were not those of the British people ; the ministers were playing merely their own game, as the leaders of a faction ; to them peace was urgently necessary as the means of securing the political power on which they had seized, and of destroying the great influence which the military talents of Marlborough assured to him while the war continued. As early as January, 1711, they had made secret overtures to the French government ; and after conducting negotiations through obscure channels, and with a paltering timidity, which marks their consciousness of shame, if not of guilt†, they had received, in the month of September, a minister duly accredited by Louis the Fourteenth. The terms of the negotiation were

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\* How soon the nation became uneasy at the prospect of a *separate* peace, is shown by a passage in Mr. Hill's letter of August 27th, 1712. (See Correspondence.)

† I leave to historians the duty of exposing the early correspondence of the Pretender with Queen Anne's ministers



kept profoundly secret; nor is there any ground for believing that Hanmer and the high-church tories entertained at this time any suspicion that the queen's ministers might treat with the French court on terms incompatible with the broad interests of the confederates, with the honour of Great Britain, or with the future security of the crown under the Act of Settlement. But giving him full credit for good faith, we cannot help confessing that Hanmer had been made in this transaction a dupe to the arts of the two ministers. Availing themselves of that vindictive impulse which drove him to expose the peculations of Marlborough, and the prodigality of the former cabinet, they had contrived to make Sir Thomas Hanmer, that high and independent leader of the country tories, the instrument of their secret design to separate England from her allies, and to conclude a peace useful to themselves, though dishonourable to the kingdom.

The course which Hanmer took immediately after he had played this prominent part in the House of Commons, inclines me to believe, that sudden suspicions had shot athwart his mind, and determined him at once to absent himself from Parliament, and to watch with diligence the proceedings of the queen's ministers. It was on the 4th of March that

her majesty had received from his hands the representation which tended to increase his political importance, and to mark him as the leader of the independent tories in the House of Commons. Yet in the further debates of that month, Hanmer appears to have taken no part; and on the 2nd of April we find him (by a letter on private business, addressed to his cousin William Hanmer,) announcing that he "had taken a resolution of going into Flanders with the Duke of Ormonde." His grace set off for the Hague on the 9th, and after transacting business with the States, he proceeded on the 3rd of May to Ghent, where he took the command of that noble army which Marlborough had so often led to victory. Ormonde was one of Hanmer's closest friends; and this opportunity of accompanying him to a theatre where the latter might both observe the conduct of the allies, and watch the measures of the English government, probably determined him to make this journey. He avoided, at the same time, any further committal of himself in parliament, where he was displeased with many of his own party, and mistrusted the ministers with whom he had precipitately connected himself. It does not appear from his correspondence, whether he accompanied the duke through all the stages of

those disgraceful operations which are styled in Ormonde's apology "the campaign of 1712;" but it may be inferred, from the letters addressed to Hanmer, by the Speaker Bromley, Mr. Hill, and Lord Bolingbroke, that he came to Ghent with the duke, when (after separating his army from that of Prince Eugene) the British general seized on that city, expelling the weak garrison of his Dutch allies. It was at Ghent that Hanmer received fresh solicitations to become one of the queen's ministers; and it appears, from various sources, that it was Lord Oxford's desire to make him secretary of state in the room of Lord Dartmouth. The Speaker, Bromley, was employed by the premier to back his entreaties; and one of his letters will be found in the correspondence, on the margin of which Sir Thomas has written the single, but emphatic word, "liberty." None of his answers remain; but this private mark of his feelings gives assurance, that he was exempt from personal desires of power and emolument.

It had been the intention of Hanmer to visit Dunkirk, when that fortress was put into the hands of the English; but from motives which do not appear, he broke his appointment to meet Lord Bolingbroke there, and proceeded in October to Paris. The importance attached to Hanmer at this

period now becomes remarkable. The Duc d'Aumont was about to proceed to London as ambassador from the court of France ; and in the instructions for his guidance, bearing date the 6th of November, 1712, we find this passage (after a description of the chief leader of the English cabinet) : — “ Le Comte Dartmouth, secrétaire d'état, n'a fait d'autre figure dans cette négociation, que de porter envie au Vicomte de Bolingbroke, qu'il voyoit chargé d'une affaire qui naturellement étoit du département du Comte de Dartmouth. On est persuadé en Angleterre qu'il ne conservera pas long-temps sa charge, et le bruit s'étoit répandu que la reine en disposeroit bientôt en faveur du Chevalier Hanmer, car il est fort amy du grand trésorier, et l'un des plus zélés du party Anglican\*.” On the 15th of November, the French minister, De Torcy, writes to the Abbé Gaultier, his agent in London : — “ Faites-moi sçavoir, s'il vous plaît, de quelle manière il est à propos de se conduire avec M. Hanmer, et quelles sont véritablement ses liaisons avec M. le Grand Trésorier, car on en parle diversement. Mathieu (quære Prior ?) m'a dit que je pouvois prendre confiance en lui. Je ne l'ai encore vu qu'une fois : mais il m'a paru qu'il n'étoit pas disposé à s'ouvrir beaucoup †.”

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\* Mackintosh papers.

† Ibid.

The answer from Gaultier, dated November 22nd, is important. The abbé was at this time deeply in the confidence of Harley and St. John ; and he thus replies to the inquiries of Torcy, which (when translated into *plain* English) mean—"Is Sir Thomas Hanmer acquainted with the secret correspondence of the English ministers, and with their schemes for favouring, in concert with the French government, the eventual restoration of James the Third?—and, consequently, may I venture to treat with him on this subject?" Gaultier answers :—"Le Chevalier Hanmer est un gentilhomme de mérite, et qu'on destine icy à de grands emplois. Il sera fait secrétaire d'état à son retour ; et orateur de la chambre basse dans le premier parlement, c'est à dire dans un an. Il est extrêmement des amis du Comte d'Oxford, de Milord Bolingbroke, du Duc d'Ormond, et de tous ceux de ce parti-là. Vous ne devez attendre aucune confidence de sa part, et de notre coste vous ne lui en devez faire aucune, car il n'est absolument point dans *notre secret*. Il sçait que les choses s'avancent et se feront, mais il ne sçait ny quand, ny comment : et vous pouvez compter qu'il n'y a rien de mystérieux dans son voyage et dans son séjour à Paris. Voilà à peu près tout ce je puis vous dire à son sujet\*."

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\* Mackintosh papers.

But previously to this diplomatic correspondence regarding Hanmer, the Duke of Berwick had called the particular attention of the Pretender to a person whom it was considered important by the Jacobite council to win over to their cause. The marshal says, in a letter of the 30th of October, "Hanmer is expected at Paris." On the 8th of November he writes to the Pretender, "I go to Paris in hopes of seeing Sir Thomas Hanmer, who, Mr. P. assures Mr. B., has a great desire to see me. He will probably be reserved, which he is said naturally to be." On the 11th Berwick writes again, "I saw Sir T. Hanmer, but only in public. Mr. Phillips\*, who is his intimate friend and your majesty's well-wisher, advised me to seek occasions of becoming familiar with the knight." And on the 20th of November, the marshal informs the Pretender:—"J'ai trouvé M. Hanmer très-reservé, évitant avec soin tout ce qui pourroit regarder votre majesté. Phillips m'a dit qu'il ne lui a jamais parlé directement †."

Sir Thomas Hanmer remained some time at Paris,

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\* Phillips was probably a person, of whom I find many traces in the correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, who generally styles him Captain Phillips. He seems to have been one of the baronet's humble servants; and to have executed commissions for, and occasionally borrowed money from, his patron.

† Mackintosh papers.

observed and courted with anxious hope by the parties who were at that time working for the restoration of the Pretender\*. Nor is it improbable that, during his recent and close connexion with the Duke of Ormonde, he should have been persuaded to yield so far to the wishes of his friend, as to have repaired to the French capital, with the secret purpose of satisfying his mind on the question, whether the character and conduct of the representative of the house of Stuart were such as to promise security to the church of England, and superior benefits to the nation, in case of a disputed succession to the crown. The eagerness of the Pretender's agents to draw over so influential a person to his cause, betrayed them into some indiscretions, for we find De Torcy writing to Gaultier on the 11th of December, in these terms†:—"Montgoulin (the Pretender) est en peine du mauvais effet que peut produire le zèle indiscret d'un de ses gens, qui sans être autorisé de luy a escrit en son nom et cherché

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\* "Sir Thomas Hanmer was sent over in 1712 to the Duke of Ormonde (whose relation and friend he was) in Flanders, and after that came to Paris, where he was received by the King of France's order, like a prince; never had a private man such honours paid him." (Carte's Memorandum-book, Macpherson papers, vol. ii. p. 420.)

† Mackintosh papers.

à tirer connoissance avec les Anglois qui sont à Paris. Vous luy feriez beaucoup de plaisir si vous pourriez trouver le moyen de sçavoir les sentimens de M. le Comte d'Oxford sur ces sortes de liaisons, que ces mesmes gens ont tasché de former avec M. Hanmer\*."

The publick conduct of Sir Thomas Hanmer after his return to England affords us ample proof that his observations at Paris had by no means tended to reconcile his mind to the restoration of the House of Stuart, or to strengthen his confidence in the British cabinet. He preserved, indeed, his intimacy with the Duke of Ormonde, and still associated with Oxford; though it is evident from Swift's account †,

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\* In a letter from Lord Newcastle to the Earl of Middleton, dated January 29, 1713, the former gives an account of a conversation he held with Phillips. "I told him (says Lord Newcastle) there could be nothing more glorious for him, nor soe advantageous, as to be the means of bringing the knight, his friend, into the king's interest; and that if he was soe honest a man as he often tould me he was, it ought not to be difficult. To which he answered, that if there was an honest man in England, he was wan, which was answer enuffe,<sup>9</sup> as he sayd, to my question; but that he, like others, would be cautious till they were shure of the people about the king; but that for his own particular, he would dye to serve the king, and he made noe mystery but that tother was in his interest as much, if twere not for the aforesaid raisons." (Macpherson Papers, vol. ii. p. 378.)

† See journal to Stella, March 23d, 1712-13. "I dined to-day at Sir Thomas Hanmer's, and there was the Duke of Or-



that as early as March, 1713, his political dissatisfaction with the minister was undisguised. It was not till the 9th of April that the parliament was again assembled, after eleven prorogations. The long expected treaty of peace had at last arrived, accompanied by a new treaty of commerce with France; and the addresses of the two houses, carried in the peers by a large majority, and in the commons without opposition, marked the readiness of the Parliament to approve of the peace; but with regard to the commercial treaty they observed a cautious silence. The forward tone in which the House of Commons expressed on this occasion their attachment to the protestant succession, and their anxious desire for a perfectly good understanding with the family of Brunswick, is remarkable in their address; and it affords us some reason to believe that suspicions of the clandestine correspondence with the Pretender, which recent discoveries have verified, were entertained even at that time. The treaties were laid before the parliament on the 8th of May; and

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monde, and Lord and Lady Orkney. I left them at six. Everybody is as sour as vinegar. I strive to keep a firm friendship between the Duke of Ormonde and Eltee (Oxford). I have great designs if I can compass them; but delay is rooted in Eltee's heart, yet the fault is not altogether there that things are no better." See also January 6th, April 2nd, 12th, &c.

on the 14th a motion was carried by a large majority in the House of Commons, for the bringing in of a bill to make effectual the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce, the opposition consisting exclusively of the whig party, which mustered only 130 votes on this occasion. But a formidable clamour was soon heard without the walls of parliament ; the trading towns of England caught alarm at the terms of this treaty ; some of the principal merchants of London set up a newspaper expressly to refute the arguments of the ministerial advocates, and to expose the dangers to which they imagined that these conditions would subject the commerce of Great Britain. The government, however, persevered with their bill ; but, after it had passed through the committee, with some discussion and alteration, but with little opposition, there ensued, on the motion for its being engrossed, a warm debate, which was attended with unexpected consequences. The whigs opposed it, as before ; but, to the surprise of the house, Sir Thomas Hanmer rose, and supported their opposition. He made a long and elaborate speech, wherein, among other things, he said :—" That before he had fully examined the affair in question, he had given his vote for the bringing in the bill ; but that, having afterwards maturely weighed and considered

the allegations of the traders and manufacturers in their several petitions and representations, he was convinced that the passing of it would be of great prejudice to the woollen and silk manufacturers of this kingdom, consequently increase the number of the poor, and in the end affect the land : that, while he had the honour to sit in that house, he would never be blindly led by any ministry ; neither, on the other hand, was he biassed by what might weigh with some men, viz., the fear of losing their elections ; but that the principles upon which he acted were the interest of his country, and the conviction of his judgment ; and upon these two considerations alone he was against the bill \*. This open declaration of hostility took the government completely by surprise ; and so many of the tory members were ready on the instant to support Sir Thomas Hanmer in his opposition, that the ministers were beaten on a division, by 194 votes to 185.

Lord Oxford was thrown into consternation by this sudden reverse ; and, before he had made up his mind on the course which he might adopt, Hanmer followed up his advantage by moving, on the 23d of July, that an address be presented to her majesty,

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\* Parliamentary History.

thanking her for the great care she had taken of the security and honour of her kingdom in the treaty of peace; but praying that she would be pleased to appoint commissioners to treat with France "for the adjusting of such matters as are still necessary to be settled in the treaty of commerce; that the treaty may be so explained and perfected, that an entire scheme of trade may be settled," &c. This vigorous measure was still less anticipated than the former, and Hanmer's motion was carried by 156 voices against 72. He brought up the address immediately, which was reported and presented to the queen. Great as was the embarrassment and anger of the ministers, they strove to appear unruffled; and, in the royal answer, they affected to misunderstand the intentions of the Commons. They artfully confounded the two treaties, and accepted the approbation bestowed on the conditions of peace as if it had been extended equally to those of commerce. The position in which their government was placed was extremely difficult; but Oxford determined to gain time by evasion, trusting that this unnatural coalition of whigs and high-tories could not last beyond the moment of agitation.

The surprise and rage of the prime minister at this unexpected crisis are painted in the following

passage of a letter from the Duc d'Aumont to Louis the Fourteenth, dated London, 5th July, 1713 :—  
“ Milord Anglesey et le Chevalier Hanmer, sur lesquels le grand trésorier croyoit pouvoir davantage, lui ont manqué d’une manière plus marquée que les autres. Ils ont sollicité et entraîné une infinité de voix, particulièrement ce dernier, que l’on avoit flatté de la charge de secrétaire d’état, qui est entre les mains de Milord Dartmouth, à qui on devoit donner des postes dont il se contenteroit. Ce chevalier, de la conduite du quel tous les motifs intéressés sont connus, n’a pas laissé de dire en propres termes, lorsqu’il s’opposa au Bill de Commerce, qu’il tiroit sa satisfaction d’avoir résisté à toutes les offres des personnes en place, et de mépriser les moyens qu’ils employoient pour sacrifier leur patrie à la France.” . . .  
“ Les premiers mouvemens de ce ministre (Oxford) ont eu toute la vivacité d’un homme piqué : il ne songeoit qu’à punir sans exception ceux qui luy avoient manqué, qu’à attaquer à la fois Milord Anglesey, M. Hanmer, et plusieurs autres des plus considérables. Ses véritables amys, c’est-à-dire, Lord Bolingbroke, &c. &c., ont corrigé ses premières chaleurs : ils luy ont livré M. Hanmer, et veulent remettre à un autre temps la punition de Milord Anglesey. Il n’a été possible à personne jusqu’icy

de demesler les véritables intentions du Comte d'Oxford. Ce qu'il a fait contre les wigts ne leur laissera jamais croire qu'il revienne de (à ?) ses premiers sentimens et rentre dans leur party. Le peu qu'il a fait pour les tories les empêche de se persuader qu'il soit uniquement attaché à leurs intérêts ; et l'incertitude apparente de son caractère ôte la confiance de ceux même qu'il traite favorablement\*."

But this frothy representative of Louis seems to have been equally incompetent to calculate the bearings of English parties, and to sound the policy of Lord Oxford. While D'Aumont was reporting to his master that Hanmer was abandoned to the vengeance of the English minister, the latter was working by every means to regain the affections of the independent tory †.

Erasmus Lewis, Lord Oxford's secretary, writes to Swift ‡ on the 9th of July : " We are all running headlong into the greatest confusion imaginable ; Sir Thomas Hanmer is gone into the country this morning, I believe, much discontented ; and I am very apprehensive neither Lord Anglesey nor he will continue long with us. I heartily wish you

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\* Mackintosh Papers.

† See Oxford's letter of July 8th. (Correspondence.)

‡ Swift's Correspondence.

were here," &c. On the 16th, the queen prorogued the parliament, and her ministers determined on a dissolution. A few days afterwards, Oxford renewed his solicitations to Hanmer, flattering him with expressions of the urgent need which the minister felt of his advice; promising to enter on measures which should give him satisfaction, and (through his friend the speaker Bromley) pressing him to take the office of chancellor of the exchequer, or, if he preferred it, the chair of the House of Commons \*. Ormonde likewise, adding his entreaties to those of the prime minister, wrote in urgent terms to his friend, begging him to return to London without delay. "I," says the duke, "have all the reason in the world to believe that there will be a change in affairs that will satisfy all our friends; and things will be so settled as all the honest part of the kingdom will be pleased with. You must have your share in the modelling of this new scheme." On the other hand Sir Thomas Hanmer's friend and cousin, Lord Hervey (afterwards Earl of Bristol), expressed in the strongest terms the pleasure with which he "received the welcome news of his having so wisely refused the insidious offers of those who would dex-

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\* See Correspondence; Letters from Oxford, and Bromley, 30th July, and Ormonde's of the 1st August.

terously make use of his rising reputation to support their own declining credit and authority, which were founded upon such destructive unprecedented measures, as even this vile degenerate age will shortly blush to think they have borne with the authors so long." "The chair of the House of Commons," says the whig lord, "is the only public post I could at present congratulate you upon, since there I am sure you may maintain that noble figure my friendship wisheth, and my great opinion of your virtue expects from you, of acting with that strict impartiality between prince and people," &c. &c.\* Lord Hervey was much mistaken if he cherished any hope of weaning his cousin from his tory principles: but his letter perhaps strengthened the inclination of Hanmer to accept the office of speaker: and a partial reconciliation was patched up between him and the ministers, by his consenting to take the chair of the House of Commons when the new parliament should be assembled.

During the late crisis of political affairs, the high-church party had placed itself in what is expressed by the modern phrase "a false position." They had confirmed Harley and St. John in power, they had

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\* See Correspondence, 27th August, 1713.



clamoured for a peace, and next they were discontented with the moderation of their own ministers, and with the terms of the peace which their impatience had precipitated. They had thirsted for the disgrace, and even, it is said, for the blood, of the whigs\*; but a large proportion of the peers were still attached to that party, and opposed a formidable barrier to their violence. The queen was jealous, as well as weak; and though Mrs. Masham's influence had been amply proved by the overthrow of the Marlboroughs, yet the whig Duchess of Somerset retained an almost equal power over the feeble mind and suspicious temper of the sovereign. The heat of party spirit must have been extreme when the tories were seen pressing forward in the pursuit of a blind vengeance, at the risk of ruining the very ministers whom they had so recently hailed as their deliverers, and overlooking the latent but inevitable causes of dissension which lurked within their own party, touching the succession to the throne. Sir Thomas Hanmer, implacable as he might be towards the whigs, and ardent as he was in support of the royal prerogative, seems to have recoiled from any measure which might tend to the restoration of the

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\* See Swift to Stella, Feb. 18th, 1711.

Stuarts. The ascendancy of the church of England outweighed, in his mind, the divine right of kings and the legitimate succession to the crown. "The whimsicals," says Bolingbroke in his letter to Sir William Windham, "or the Hanover tories, continued zealous in appearance with us till the peace was signed : I saw no people so eager for the conclusion of it \*. Some of them were in such haste, that they thought any peace preferable to the least delay, and omitted no instances to quicken their friends who were actors in it. As soon as the treaties were perfected and laid before parliament, the scheme of these gentlemen began to disclose itself entirely. Their love of the peace, like other passions, cooled by enjoyment. They grew nice about the construction of the articles, could come up to no direct approbation, and, being let into the secret of what was to happen, would not preclude themselves from the glorious advantage of rising on the ruins of their friends and of their party. The danger of the succession, and the badness of the peace, were the two principles on which we were attacked. On the first the whimsical tories joined the whigs, and declared directly against their

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\* See Hanmer's "letter."—Of the pamphlet (as I suppose it to have been) to which Bolingbroke here refers, I can find no trace, nor any other mention.

party, although nothing is more certain than this truth, that there was at that time no formed design in the party, whatever views some particular men might have, against his majesty's succession to the throne. On the latter, and most points, they affected a glorious neutrality," &c.

The proceedings of the session of 1713 had exposed to the public eye the schism in the tory party, and the deep jealousy with which the high-church leaders regarded the queen's ministers. The cabinet itself was equally disunited. In the breast of Bolingbroke, the bitterest antipathy had succeeded to his early impatience of Oxford's indecision and selfishness. No prospects could be more gloomy than those which now presented themselves to the kingdom. The queen's health was rapidly decaying; her principal ministers distrusting and detesting each other; the jacobite faction reviving their intrigues, growing more audacious, and preparing themselves in silence for a civil war: the high-church party embarrassed and paralysed by its position, discontented with the conduct and suspicious of the designs of government, yet still as hostile as ever to the whigs, though they had partially supported them on some particular questions in parliament. An increasing apprehension of treachery on the part of government

induced some of the whimsicals to enter, soon after this time, into communications with the court of Hanover, and they appeared anxious to outbid the whigs in their offers of service to the electress: but these transactions were conducted timidly and in secrecy; as they were fully aware of the irritable jealousy with which the queen regarded all correspondence with the family of Brunswick. Nor were the whig leaders more at their ease with respect to the succession: they knew that the partisans of the pretender were preparing for the approaching conflict, nor could they doubt the inclination of Louis XIV. to support them with French assistance. They had ample reason to suspect the designs of the queen's ministers: and they knew that many influential men among the nobility and the country gentlemen were cordially attached to the cause of James. On those tories who had occasionally coalesced with them of late, and who were now beginning to proffer their services to the house of Hanover, the whigs could place no reliance: they felt that these gentlemen were by no means disposed to hazard their lives and fortunes in case of an appeal to arms\*; that securities for the civil and religious liberty of the people formed no

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\* See Lord Guilford's conversation with Lord Somers.—Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 629, 4to.

part of their objects ; and that if they could obtain a guarantee for the church of England, they would swear allegiance to the house of Stuart, at least as willingly as to that of Brunswick \* .

It was under these gloomy circumstances that the new House of Commons was elected, and that Sir Thomas Hanmer consented to be proposed as speaker. Though Lord Oxford had urged and entreated him to accept this situation, and had pledged the support of government to his election, yet we have proofs that it was fear only, and no remnant of friendship, which prompted him to court this inflexible high churchman. The abbé Gaultier writes to De Torcy, on the 26th January : “ Pour empêcher le chevalier Hanmer d'entreprendre aucune chose contre la cour, my lord Oxford m'a dit qu'il l'a fait orateur de la chambre. C'est un homme qui, malgré le grand bruit qu'on a fait de lui depuis plusieurs années dans le monde, ne s'est acquis grande réputation parmi les gens d'esprit, de crédit, et d'honneur.” Again he writes on the 12th of February : “ Aussitôt que le parlement sera assemblé, le chevalier Hanmer et ceux qui pensent comme lui se joindront aux whigs, et présenteront une adresse à la

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\* See Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 503, & 4, & 6, 7, & 12, 545, 6—9.

reyne pour la prier de faire venir icy le Duc de Cambridge. M. le grand trésorier sçavoit leur dessein, et il n'en fait que rire, et m'assure que les affaires de Montgoulin (the Pretender) en iront mieux : pour moy je ne sçaurois le croire \*." \* \*

It may be observed by the way, that this passage disproves the assertions of some writers, that the queen's ministers were completely taken by surprise, when Baron Schutz, two months later, demanded a writ for the electoral prince as Duke of Cambridge.

The parliament was assembled on the 16th of February, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was elected speaker of the House of Commons by a unanimous vote. The temper of both houses, and their anxiety touching the protestant succession, was speedily manifested by motions urging the government to take measures with foreign powers for the removal of the pretender to a greater distance from England, and offering rewards for his apprehension ; as well as by their giving countenance and effect to the claim of the electoral prince to take his seat in the House of Peers. In this measure of the opposition the speaker took a pretty decided part, though it is evident that the whigs had entertained great doubts of his going to such lengths, and they had made use of Hanmer's

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\* Mackintosh Papers.

friend Mr. Hill, and of General Cadogan, "to gain him over \*." But one of the earliest proceedings in the House of Commons was the memorable exertion made by the queen's ministers to obtain the expulsion of Richard Steele from his seat in that assembly. A remarkable letter from this celebrated man, addressed to the speaker, will be found in the Correspondence, together with Hanmer's answer.

The prediction of Lord Oxford, that the chair of the House of Commons would not seduce the new speaker from his independent course, or reconcile him to the ministerial policy, was speedily verified. On the 15th of April a motion made, in a committee of the whole house, by Sir Edward Knatchbull, produced an important debate on the vital question, "Whether the protestant succession in the house of Hanover be in danger under her majesty's government?" The affirmative was supported by Walpole, Lord Hertford, and Lord Hinchinbroke; the negative was maintained by Secretary Bromley and others of the court party. Sir Thomas Hanmer rose in reply to the latter, and "made a memorable speech †." "He was sorry to see that endeavours were used to

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\* See Macpherson's Papers, vol. ii. p. 504, 507, &c.

† Parliamentary History.

wave that question and stop their mouths ; but he was of opinion that this was the proper, and perhaps the only, time for patriots to speak. That a great deal of pains was taken to screen some persons : and, in order to that, to make them overlook the dangers that threatened the queen, the nation, and the protestant succession. That for his own part he had all the honour and respect imaginable for her majesty's ministers, but that he owed still more to his country than to any minister. That in this debate so much had been said to prove the succession to be in danger, and so little to make out the contrary, that he could not but believe the first.' He concluded with taking notice of Sir Patrick Lawless being suffered to come over and admitted to an audience of her majesty, &c. This speech had a great influence on the unbiassed and unprejudiced members ; but nevertheless, after a long and warm debate, it was resolved, by a majority of 256 voices against 208, 'That it is the opinion of this committee that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover is in no danger under her majesty's government. 2dly. That the house be moved humbly to address her majesty, returning the thanks of the house for the instances she has used for the removal of the pretender from the dominions of the Duke of Lorrain, and humbly desiring her



majesty to insist upon and renew her instances for his speedy removal from thence.'” This near division, in a full house, upon a question proposed in such terms as to verge on an impeachment of the ministers, and evaded rather than overcome by the tenor of the resolutions which were adopted, must have developed to Oxford the full extent of the dangers he had to apprehend from his new parliament. At the same time his colleague Bolingbroke, “convinced of his perfidy, jaded with his yoke, and piqued against him personally\*,” was working ardently to supplant him in the favour of the queen, through the same dark and crooked ways by which Oxford himself had arrived at power.

Immediately after Hanmer's election to the office of speaker, he had entered into direct communications with the electress Sophia. Two of her letters will be found in the annexed correspondence; and in Hanmer's answer to the first, he hints that he had accepted that charge because it afforded him influence and opportunity to watch closely over the interests of her family in the House of Commons: and he ventures to assure her that the parliament will

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\* Bolingbroke's own expressions in his letter to Sir William Windham.

not cease to give evidence of its anxiety touching the succession, “*jusques à la fin\**.”

Notwithstanding the habitual easiness of Lord Oxford's temper, his negligence, and recklessness, the various difficulties which now beset him seemed to have roused the treasurer to make a late attempt to extricate himself by throwing, or pretending to throw, himself into the arms of the parties attached to the house of Hanover. On the 13th of May, he addressed a private letter to Hanmer, couched in the

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\* It is remarkable that even at this time the pretender's councillors had not lost the hope of winning over Hanmer to their party. The Duke of Berwick writes to James, on the 28th of March—“*M. de Torcy sends Y. M. the letters from England ; they still run on the same style about religion ; but that confirms me in the opinion that no answer is ever to be made. Truly this looks ill ; for after two or three years' negotiation to propose at last an impossible thing, is what we call ‘une querelle d'Allemand.’* However, one must keep fair with them, for there is no remedy ; but we must endeavour to get other friends to work, who will not speak of unreasonable as well as impracticable conditions. The Duke of Ormond would certainly be the most proper person, the difficulty is to get at him, &c. &c. I am also for Lady Jersey's going to England. She is mightily well with Bolingbroke, and Sir Thomas Hanmer. She may speak with them, and try to make them think of doing seriously the work, and of joining with the Duke of Ormond. If I can get leave to go to England, I can also work ; but I am afraid, if Harley is a knave at the bottom, he will hinder me from reversing my outlawry.” (Mackintosh Papers.)

most urgent and even humble tone of entreaty, to let him "communicate his poor thoughts for the public good." "I shall be glad to unite with you in joint endeavours"—"You shall find your favours are not thrown away," &c. But the quarrels in the cabinet were by this time notorious; and in the struggle between the rival ministers, the high-churchmen, if they trusted either, were more favourably inclined to Bolingbroke than to Oxford; indeed it was at this very moment that the former threw out a bait designed expressly to catch their party. The Anglicans of that day were sure to bite, if they saw fresh means of persecuting the dissenters; and in the "Schism Bill," which was brought before parliament on the 12th of May, and of which Bolingbroke was the prime mover, they found an opportunity of gratifying their appetite. It was in vain that the whigs opposed a sturdy resistance to this measure: all the sections of the tories were reunited in support of persecution; the bill was carried in the commons by 237 votes against 126; but parties were more nearly balanced in the House of Lords, where 72 voices were raised against 77 on the final reading\*. In this manner the session wore away, amidst a confusion of views and

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\* See Macpherson, p. 623, 631.

inclinations, a general distrust, and an universal apprehension of what might be at hand. The whigs alone, excited by a sense of impending danger, preserved some appearance of strength by the serried union of their band, and the consistency of their movements and objects. On the 9th of July, Queen Anne delivered her last speech to parliament, and put an end to the session. The intrigues of Bolingbroke for the overthrow of Lord Oxford were now matured ; and the three weeks which elapsed between the prorogation and the death of the queen, present a disgraceful scene of agitation and angry turmoil in the court and the cabinet. The treasurer made but a feeble struggle in the last agonies of expiring power ; and on the 27th of July, he felt the staff of office snatched rudely from his hand. But the drama did not terminate, as Bolingbroke had designed, with this catastrophe. The queen sank under the agitation of the late excitement, before her new prime minister could even grasp the rod which had been torn from his rival. Early on the 30th, Secretary Bromley despatched an express to Hanmer, summoning him instantly to London, as the law required an immediate assembling of the parliament in case of the queen's death, and informing him that the lords of the council had *unanimously* requested her

majesty to make the Duke of Shrewsbury lord treasurer\*. This last act consummated the defeat of all Bolingbroke's schemes, and frustrated any design he might have entertained of introducing the Pretender. He appears to have been palsied by the blow, and to have sunk without an effort. The queen expired on the morning of the 1st of August; and the Elector of Hanover was proclaimed King of Great Britain without a symptom of opposition.

The two houses of parliament assembled on the 14th; but they adjourned at the desire of the lords justices to the following day, when the chancellor, as if acting in the name of George the First, announced the accession of the new sovereign, and called on the Commons to make a due provision for the crown by votes of supply. The addresses of both houses breathed the warmest assurances of duty and affection to their protestant king; and the Commons granted the same sum for the civil list as had been enjoyed by Queen Anne. To these, and some other necessary arrangements with regard to revenue, were confined the proceedings of this short session, the parliament being again prorogued before the end of August.

The foremost object of Hanmer's political pursuits was now attained. The throne of England was again

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\* See Correspondence.

filled by a protestant ; the catholic heir was set aside ; and this great point had been carried without commotion. His next hope must have been that the new sovereign would invite to his councils those leaders of the church party who had zealously promoted his interests in the late crisis. Nor was such an expectation cherished without reasonable grounds. Hanmer himself had been in recent correspondence with the court of Hanover, and his offers of service had been met by the most gracious and confidential returns : the exertions of his party to secure the protestant succession had rivalled those of the whigs ; and things had so fallen out at the moment of the queen's demise, that even the crowning acts of the work, the proclamation of King George, and the gathering of the troops to suppress opposition, had proceeded ostensibly from a council where the highest functionaries were still tories, though it must be owned that the bold conduct of the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, had left to these gentlemen little opportunity to hesitate. But whatever might have been the aspirations of Hanmer and his friends, their dawn was overcast on the arrival of the king in London \*. A completely whig administration was formed immediately ; and though it appears that Hanmer's

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\* September 17th.

recent services were not overlooked by George, still the nature of the rewards offered for his acceptance, was not such as could either tempt him from his independence, or reconcile him to a government where undivided power was lodged in the hands of men to whom he had been bitterly opposed in politics, and who were stained with the crime of favouring the protestant sects which dissented from the English church. The Mackintosh papers throw a great deal of light on the conduct pursued by the new administration in the first days of their power, with regard to several individuals of the tory party, and in particular to the subject of this memoir. Anxious to make his government minutely acquainted with every occurrence at this political crisis, the French ambassador in London despatches information day after day: on the 8th of October, he writes to Louis, " Quoique les tories paroissent indignés du peu de mesure que la cour garde avec eux, et qu'ils affectent de dire qu'il ne leur reste de ressource pour empêcher l'entière ruine de leur party que dans la supériorité au futur parlement, il m'a paru, sire, que quelques uns d'entre eux ont commencé de prendre courage depuis que le bruit s'est répandu que la cour a gagné deux sujets considérables dans la chambre basse: l'un est M. Bromley, auquel on a offert l'emploi de tré-

sorier de l'échiquier, qui rapporte en temps de paix 2000 pièces, et 2500 en temps de guerre. L'autre est le Chevalier Hanmer, à qui l'on propose la charge de chancelier de l'échiquier qu'a le Chevalier Windham. Ny l'un ny l'autre n'ont pas accepté que je sache. Je serois très-surpris de la défection de M. Bromley, qui a été regardé comme un des plus attachés au party des tories, et même des plus zélés Jacobites : mais il est Anglois, et n'est pas riche. Quant à M. Hanmer, il est chef d'une troupe de 30 ou 40 députés qui ont toujours affecté comme luy de se dire tories, mais fort opposés au Prétendant par zèle pour leur religion et pour les libertés de la nation. Ils font icy ce qu'on appelle à Rome dans les conclaves 'l'escadron volant.' Quelques tories de distinction m'ont dit nettement depuis deux jours que V. M. devoit pour son intérêt les aider de quelque argent pour gagner les voix dans les élections, comme elle a fait du temps de Charles II., et que ce seroit un argent bien employé, &c." In another letter, of October the 10th, the ambassador sends long particulars of the exertions made, but in vain, by George the First, to win Lord Peterborough to the court. He adds : " Lord P. a assemblé les principaux des tories qui se sont trouvés icy, et dans leur conférence il a fait voir qu'il faut ou que tous quittent les moindres charges et emplois, et montrent hautement leur co-



lère en se retirant à leurs campagnes, ou qu'ils usent de la politique, au moins pour quelque temps, et aillent quelquefois à la cour, pour la raison qu'à l'heure qu'il est si quelqu'un d'eux est obligé d'y aller il se trouve fort embarrassé sans sçavoir à qui parler, et presque montré au doigt par les whigs. J'entrevois, sire, qu'ils prendront tous le party de la retraite. M. Bromley ne paroît plus au palais, et on assure qu'il a refusé l'employ qu'on luy a t offert." \* \* \*

There is also a paper, bearing neither date nor signature, but which appears to have been drawn up about this time, and was probably intended for the guidance of the new French minister D'Iberville. It points out that there were three classes of tories.

1st. The catholics and non-jurors.

2nd. The tories of Queen Anne.

3rd. The high-church tories ("escadron volant"), whose leaders were the earls of Anglesey and Abingdon, the Archbishop of York, and Sir Thomas Hanmer.

"Le roi d'Angleterre s'est efforcé d'en gagner quelques uns, comme le comte d'Abingdon, en luy donnant une place dans son conseil privé, et le Chevalier Thomas Hanmer, en luy offrant la charge de première dame d'honneur de la princesse pour madame la duchesse de Grafton son épouse, et deux charges pour luy qui rapportent 3000 pièces : mais

celui-cy a refusé jusqu'à présent par zèle pour les intérêts de l'église Anglicane\*." This paper goes on to notice the favourable reception given by the new government to the dissenters, which had revived the jealousies and fury of the high-church party, so that the cry of opposition was already thundering from the pulpits. It will be observed that there is a discrepancy in the foregoing documents with regard to the favours by which the king wished to reward the past or to secure the future services of Hanmer: but it seems most probable that the passage which I have quoted last is the true version. It is likely that posts of honour and large emoluments should have been offered to him; but one can hardly believe that a government of which Townshend and Sunderland, Stanhope and Walpole, were leading members, should have invited this inflexible high-churchman to take his seat among them as chancellor of the exchequer †.

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\* Mackintosh Papers.

† Since this was written, I have seen a passage in Mr. Wortley Montague's memoir on the state of party at the accession of George the First (as published by Lord Wharncliffe), which tends to confirm the evidence that Lord Halifax wished, and proposed to George I., before his first cabinet was formed, to appoint Hanmer to be either secretary of state or chancellor of the exchequer, but that Lord Townshend's influence, prompted by Walpole, prevented this infusion of tory blood. Mr. Wortley says, "the suspicion of Lord Halifax's being too much Oxford's friend, for

However, the French ambassador continues to assert it in his despatches ; and on the 16th of October, he writes thus to De Torcy :—

“ La charge de chancelier de l’echiquier que le Chevalier Hanmer a refusée vient d’être donnée au

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which he gave too much reason, was the occasion of all the wrong steps that may have been taken. For, whenever Mr. Walpole, who had got the entire government of Lord Townshend, had a mind to take any violent step, though never so disgusting to the people, he was sure to carry his point. If my Lord Halifax said any thing against it, he was said to speak in favour of the tories : if any other spoke against it, it was said he was of my Lord Halifax’s party ; so that no one could have a fair hearing but himself : and he was certain in this particular to be preferred before Lord Halifax, that no one suspected his (Walpole’s) being a friend to the tories, for whom the king seemed to have no inclination after Sir Thomas Hanmer had been weak enough to refuse his favour.” (Lord Wharncliffe’s Edit. 1837, vol. i. p. 122 & 3.)

See further a passage in a letter from Lady Mary to Mr. Wortley Montague, just before the general election.

“ The world never believes it possible for people to act out of the common track ; and whoever is not employed by the public, may talk what they please of having refused or slighted great offers ; but they are always looked upon either as neglected or discontented because their pretensions have failed ; and whatever efforts they make against the court, are thought the effects of spleen and disappointment, or endeavours to get something they have set their hearts on. As now Sir Thomas Hanmer is represented (and I believe truly) as aiming at being secretary, no man can make a better figure than when he enjoys a considerable place. Being for the place-bill, and if he finds the ministry in the wrong withdrawing from them, when ’tis visible that he might still keep his places if he had not chose to keep his integrity.” (Do. vol. i. p. 218, 19.)

Chev<sup>r</sup> Onslow, qui en cette qualité est le second commissaire de la trésorerie. On compte qu'avec (parmi?) les 39 députés qui composoient avec luy (Hanmer) et M. d'Anglesey l'escadron volant, et que les tories de la cour appeloient 'Wilchies' (?), c'est à dire inconstants, il y en a quinze ou environ qui pourroient suivre les whigs par des attachemens personnels ; mais que les autres s'attacheroient inévitablement au party tory, qui ne sera plus divisé à présent qu'il ne s'agit plus ny du Prétendant ny de la succession d'Hanovre. Ils comptent de se voir réunis sous le nom de la haute église\*."

The French minister† seems to have known little of Hanmer's views, and understood less of his principles. It may be fairly conjectured, that Sir Thomas Hanmer had calculated on the king's forming his government out of the different parties which had secured his peaceable accession to the throne‡, and that he did expect to hold an office of high influence in a cabinet, which should reckon

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\* Mackintosh Papers.

† See Macpherson, p. 641 ; and Ellis's Letters, vol. iv. p. 286.

‡ It is evident that such a hope was entertained even by some of the " Queen Anne tories." Erasmus Lewis, writing to Swift on the 7th August, says : " We are gaping and staring to see who is to rule us. The whigs think they shall engross all ; we think we shall have our share."

among its members the Earls of Nottingham, Anglesey, and Abingdon. But to be seduced from his principles and party by court offices for his wife and rich sinecures for himself, was not in the character of the man. He rejected the bribes; he resolved at once to resume his opposition to the whigs; and looking round at the dissevered sections of the tory party, it is not improbable that he turned his eyes to Oxford, as the most experienced and dexterous statesman, through whose conciliatory talents they might be reunited, and under whose influence they might be arrayed and guided in an effectual opposition to their old adversaries. Yet Lord Oxford had long neglected, while Bolingbroke had latterly courted, the high-churchmen; and had even proposed, as we are told, to have introduced some of this party into the government, if his plans had not been frustrated by the queen's untoward death. It may, however, be inferred from the expressions used by Bolingbroke, when speaking of this crisis in his letter to Sir William Windham, that some of the tories, and probably Hanmer among the foremost, took up the idea of reuniting their entire party, and of persuading Oxford and his fiery rival to forego their personal animosities for the sake of ensuring union and good discipline in their camp.

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His lordship (Bolingbroke) writes—"The tories, who had been true to one another to the last, were an handful, and no great vigour could be expected from them. The whimsicals, disappointed of the figure they hoped to make, began indeed to join their old friends. One of the principal among them (Lord Anglesey) was so very good as to confess to me, that if the court had called the servants of the late queen to account, and had stopped there, he must have considered himself as a judge, and have acted according to his conscience on what should have appeared to him : but that war had been declared to the whole tory party, and that now the state of things was altered. This discourse needed no commentary, and proved to me that I had never erred in the judgment I made of this set of men. Could I then resolve to be obliged to them, or to suffer with Oxford ? As much as I still was heated with the disputes in which I had been engaged all my life against the whigs, I would sooner have chose to owe my security to their indulgence, than to the assistance of the whimsicals : but I thought banishment, with all her train of evils, preferable to either. I abhorred Oxford to that degree, that I could not bear to be joined with him in any case." Impracticable as Bolingbroke might have been found, and

haughtily as he might have rejected any overtures which tended to a reconciliation, the wily disposition and more easy temper of Oxford would have prompted him to lend a ready ear to the offer of the tories to rally again under his banner ; but even the little band of high-church zealots was by this time disunited. Though Hanmer rejected the overtures of the new government, his example of stiff resistance to the triumphant whigs was not imitated by his ally Lord Anglesey, who evinced a greater pliability of principles. “Le Comte d’Anglesey” (writes D’Iberville on the 22nd of October), “l’un des trois seigneurs tories qui se sont détachés du party de la cour dans le dernier parlement, sans pourtant s’unir aux whigs, parle selon le désir de la cour et blâme fort M. Bromley et M. Hanmer de s’être retirez. Il a en vue d’être conservé dans sa moitié de la charge de trésorier d’Irlande \*.”

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The next report of the ambassador to his royal master, dated on the 24th of October, opens a wider view of the effects which the establishment of a whig government appeared likely to produce among those English tories, whose zeal for their church had

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\* Mackintosh Papers.

hitherto kept them attached to the succession of the house of Hanover. “Votre majesté a vu par mes précédentes dépêches que plusieurs des tories qu’on appelle rigides, c’est à dire zélés à l’outrance pour l’église Anglicane et pour le gouvernement monarchique, sont devenus Jacobites, ne voyant d’autre moyen d’empescher l’entière ruine de leur party que d’appeler le Prétendant ; et que la guerre avec V. M. leur paroissoit absolument nécessaire pour y réussir. J’ay vu clairement que ce sentiment devenoit chaque jour plus commun parmy eux, et qu’il y a toute apparence que les tories modérés y entreront aussi par pur zèle de party, mais avec plus de retenue.”

The House of Commons, of which Hanmer had been the speaker, was dissolved by proclamation in January, 1715 ; and the result of the elections affords a remarkable proof of the vast influence of the crown in the choice of members. Little more than a year had elapsed since, under the administration of Oxford and Bolingbroke, the freeholders and burgesses had returned to parliament a proportion of three tories to one whig ; but now, the offices of government having passed into other hands, the same electors returned a great majority of men attached to the party of the new ministers,



and directly opposed to the principles of their predecessors. Hanmer, however, who had represented Suffolk in the two last parliaments, was again elected for that county; but no attempt was made to replace him in the speaker's chair, to which Mr. Spencer Compton was raised without opposition, on the 17th of March.

Whatever might have been the doubts, and however wavering might have been the conduct, of Sir Thomas, before the king had placed the government in the hands of the whig party, it is evident that his mind was now made up, and that he was prepared to take a decided part in opposition. He spoke against the motion for granting to George the First the same sum for the expenses of the civil list as had been voted to Queen Anne and King William: and on the 10th of June, when the ministers were urgent to act on the celebrated report of the committee of secrecy, which became the ground-work of the impeachments of Bolingbroke and Oxford, Hanmer moved that the consideration of the report should be adjourned to the 21st, in order that this important paper might be printed, and time might be afforded to members to examine and weigh the allegations. It would have been to the credit of Walpole and Stanhope if they had assented to this

reasonable proposal; but, hot in the pursuit, they refused to stay their proceedings, and they obtained a majority against the motion, on a division, of 230 votes to 160. The prompt severity with which the new government were resolved to proceed against the persons who had taken prominent parts in the secret negotiations with France, and the suspicious circumstances connected with the late peace, became now apparent. Prior, who had been the confidential agent of Bolingbroke in all the secret transactions with the court of Versailles, was arrested, and the two great though discordant leaders of the late government, as well as their general the Duke of Ormonde, and their ambassador Lord Strafford, were impeached of high treason. Bolingbroke and Ormonde saved their lives by flight, and both entered very shortly into the service of the Pretender; while the colder temperament, or the more quiet judgment of Oxford, determined him to prefer a lingering confinement in the Tower, to the miseries and disgrace of such an exile. It seems clear that the whig ministers entertained no doubt of the treasonable nature of the correspondence which had been carried on by their predecessors, or of their design to place James Stuart on the throne at the death of Queen Anne: but the address with

which those secret negotiations had been conducted, and the timely destruction of papers, baffled the search, and marred the expectation of King George's ministers. They laid before the public abundant grounds for suspicion, sufficient perhaps to establish a moral conviction as to the guilt of the parties accused, but they were unable to produce before a court of justice conclusive proofs of the treason. More than a century has passed away since Bolingbroke fled from the accusation, and it is only now that we are enabled, by the invaluable documents obtained from the archives of France, through the labours of Sir James Mackintosh, to pronounce without hesitation a verdict of "guilty." It is not unfair to indulge ourselves in speculations as to the degree of cognizance which the contemporary tories might have obtained of the practices and designs of the leaders of their party. It seems to me difficult to believe that Sir Thomas Hanmer, closely intimate as he was with Prior and the Duke of Ormonde, and other undoubted jacobites\*; could be entirely ignorant of what was in hand. He had accompanied the Duke in that

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\* To say nothing of Captain Phillips, who was certainly in the actual employ of the Stuart faction as early as January 1713, as well as a follower of Sir Thomas at that time, and during the rest of his life.

hateful campaign of 1712, and had gone from his camp to Paris after the suspension of arms, but before the Peace. Gaultier indeed writes at the time from London, that Hanmer was not in *the secret*; but it seems most probable that he had been let into *a part* of the secret by his friend Ormonde, and that he decided on going to the French capital that he might see and hear and judge for himself. The result appears to me to have been that Hanmer did not find sufficient security for the English Church in the character or professions of James, but much to fear from the persons about the Pretender's court; and that he then took the resolutions which made him, during the remainder of Anne's reign, an opponent to the measures, and a stumbling-block in the path of Oxford and Bolingbroke. Still he must have been satisfied, when they were impeached in 1715, that they had been guilty of correspondence with the Pretender, with the view of securing his eventual succession to the throne: but then his indignation against the new king for having entrusted the powers of the realm to whig ministers, and his dread lest the ascendancy of the Anglican church should be prejudiced by a government which favoured the dissenters, counterbalanced his horror of a papist sovereign.

Such a change in the feelings and conduct of Hanmer seems to have been anticipated at Paris. The Duke of Berwick, writing in cipher to the Pretender on the 1st of May, 1715, and giving him the particulars of a conversation he had held with Lord Bolingbroke, says "*Sably* (i. e. Bolingbroke) made great protestations of his zeal for *Raucourt* (the Pretender), and thought his return to *Alençon* (England) the best way to do him service." "I will send *Sably* a declaration. He is violent for the prerogative, and never said one word of religion. He pressed M. *Raucourt*'s marrying: said nothing of *Montague*; but said Sir Thomas Hanmer would be trusted by a great many more than he himself knew of\*." There are however no traces to be found among the papers, which Hanmer left at his death to my grandfather, of his having taken any part in favour of the Stuarts. Indeed he seems to have destroyed every letter on political subjects, with the exception of those which served to mark his own importance in the eyes of Queen Anne's ministers. Caution was evidently one of his strongest characteristics; and thus we find him, after all the excitement and mortification attendant on the revolution which gave the reins of

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\* Stuart Papers (Mackintosh).

power into the hands of the whigs, taking his place coldly though fixedly in opposition to the government. He held himself back, and he left the brunt of the battle to "downright" Shippen and Sir William Windham. Hanmer seldom spoke in parliament during the two years which followed the accession of George the First; but when the quarrel rose high between the king and his son, and the Prince of Wales shewed an inclination to court the tory party, Sir Thomas answered gladly to the call which seemed to promise the re-union of toryism with royalty. The French Ambassador, D'Iberville, writes from London on the 23rd of May, 1717: "Il y a aujourd'hui huit jours que le prince, ayant appelé secrètement le Chevalier Hanmer, l'assura qu'il avoit un vif repentir d'avoir, sur des perfides conseils, regardé les tories comme ses ennemis, et qu'il veut être dorénavant leur amy, et leur donner toute sa confiance\*."

From this time Sir Thomas appears to have attached himself to the Prince of Wales, until he lost in 1727 all hope of the restoration of tory ascendancy; and with that hope he resigned his seat in parliament, and retired altogether from public life. But in 1717 the flattering overtures of his royal highness had

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\* Mackintosh Papers.

revived Hanmer's zeal, and encouraged him to assume once more a forward part in the House of Commons. The open rupture between George the First and his son took place in November, just at the time when the parliament was re-assembling ; and a few days afterwards a supply was moved in the lower house for the maintenance of the army. Hanmer embraced this opportunity of marking his hostility to the king's government ; and as the speech which he delivered on the occasion seems to have been more carefully reported than was usual in the parliamentary debates of his time, I have ventured to give it at length, as a sample of the style of a man who was accounted one of the most graceful and accomplished speakers of his day. He said :—" Mr. Speaker ; I cannot forbear troubling you with a few words upon this subject, though I can neither flatter myself with the hopes of convincing any one, nor pretend to be able to offer anything to your consideration, which has not in a better manner been urged already. But I am truly concerned for the mischiefs which, I think, we are giving way to ; and if I cannot prevent them, it will be a satisfaction to me at least to protest against them.

" All gentlemen who have spoke in this debate have, for their different opinions, agreed in one thing,

to press very much the argument of danger ; and the only question is, on which side the danger lies, whether to the government, without a military force to support it, or to the constitution and liberties of Great Britain from that military force, if it be allowed to continue in it.

“ As to the dangers which threaten the government, I think I am not willing to overlook them. But I hope we may be excused if we cannot be convinced of dangers which no man, that I hear, pretends to explain to us. Abroad, the state and circumstances of Europe happen to be such that I think it is hard to suppose a time possible, when there shall be less appearance or apprehension of any immediate disturbance to this kingdom. The three great powers, those which are most considerable in themselves and of nearest concern to us, I mean the empire, France, and Holland, are so far from being at any enmity with us, that they are all of them our fast friends and allies, at least we are told so, and hear very often a great deal of boasting upon that subject, whenever the administration of the government is to be extolled, and the merits of it are to be set forth to us. Upon these occasions we hear of nothing but the wise and useful treaties which have been made, the great influence which we have



acquired in foreign courts and councils, and the solid foundations which are laid for our security. But when, in consequence of these great things, we come to talk of reducing forces, then I observe the language is quite turned the other way ; then we are in the weakest and most insecure condition imaginable, there is no dependence upon anything, and we must even be thought disaffected to the government if we will not believe that we are surrounded on all sides with the greatest dangers.

“ But in the midst of these contrarieties and contradictions, I think we need not be at any loss what our conduct ought to be, if we will but have regard to those plain rules and maxims which have always been observed in the like cases with that which is now before us. It would certainly be an endless thing for an House of Commons to enter into the secrets of state, and to debate upon the different views, and interests, and intrigues, of foreign courts ; what jealousies are among them, and what treaties are on foot to reconcile them. If we took such things into our consideration, to guide us in questions concerning our own guards and garrisons here at home, we should be in a labyrinth indeed, and must be compelled at last to put an absolute trust in the government, because they only know the truth of

such matters, and from them we must be content to receive whatsoever account they think fit to give us of them. But the only thing proper for us to look to is, what is plain and obvious to the sense of all mankind, I mean, when are the times of present peace? There need no refinements of politics to know that, and I will venture to say that during such times of peace no remote fears, no arguments drawn from contingencies of what may be hereafter, have ever yet brought this nation into a concession so fatal to liberty, as the keeping up of standing forces, when there is no other employment for them but to insult and oppress their fellow subjects. I say there has hitherto been no precedent of that kind, and the misfortune of this case is, that there will need but one precedent in it; one wrong step taken, in this particular, may put an end to all your claims of rights and privileges.

“ And on the other hand I beg it may not be taken for granted, that if we dismiss our soldiers we shall therefore leave ourselves naked, and void of all protection against any sudden danger that may arise. No, Sir, Providence has given us the best protection, if we do not foolishly throw away the benefit of it: our situation is our natural protection, our fleet is our protection; and, if we could ever be so

happy as to see it rightly pursued, a good agreement betwixt the king and people, uniting and acting together in one national interest, would be such a protection as none of our enemies would ever hope to break through.

“ It is a melancholy thing to me to hear any other notions of government advanced here, and that his majesty, either from his private or his general council, should ever upon this subject have anything inculcated to him but this great truth, ‘ That the true and only support of an English prince does and ought to consist in the affections of his people.’ It is that should strengthen his hands, it is that should give him credit and authority in the eyes of other nations; and to think of doing it by keeping up a number of land forces here at home, such a number as can have any awe or influence over the great powers on the Continent, is, I think, one of the wildest imaginations that ever entered into the heart of man. The only strength of this nation must always consist in the riches of it; riches must be the fruits of public liberty, and the people can neither acquire riches, nor the king have the use of them, but by a government founded in their inclinations and affections.

“ If this be true, then of consequence it follows,

that whoever advises his Majesty to aim at any additional security to himself, from a standing army, instead of increasing his strength does really diminish it, and undermine his true support, by robbing him of the hearts of his subjects. For this I take for granted, that as there are but two ways of governing, the one by force, and the other by the affections of the people governed, it is impossible for any prince to have them both. He must choose which of the two he will stick to, for he can have but one. If he is master of their affections, he stands in no need of force; and if he will make use of force, it is in vain for him to expect their affections. For it is not in nature, and it never can be brought to pass, that men can love a government under which they are loaded with heavy taxes, and pay a considerable part of their estates to maintain an army which insults them in the possession of the rest, and can turn them out of the whole whenever they please.

“With submission, therefore, the argument is taken by the wrong end, when it is said there are great animosities in the kingdom, the people are disaffected, and upon that account there is a necessity of keeping up an army. It concludes much righter the other way; that is, dismiss your army, and give no other cause of suspicion that any part of the

constitution is to be invaded, and the people will be well-affected. Upon any other foot than this, what minister will ever care whether he does right or wrong? It is not his concern whether the people are easy or uneasy; his army is his dependence; nay, and the more by his wicked councils he exasperates and enrages the people, the stronger he makes his pretence for maintaining and increasing that army which supports him.

“ What I have said, I confess, goes upon a supposition, that the numbers contained in the estimate, and in the question before you, do make an army formidable enough, and able to enslave this nation; of which indeed there remains no doubt with me. In the manner these forces are conducted, I think, a prince who would wish to be arbitrary, could desire no more; and if he had all the power in his hands, I think for his own sake he would keep no more.

“ Of what nature the reductions have been, other gentlemen have so fully explained, and I believe it so generally understood, that it will be needless for me to dwell upon it. But the short of the case is this, that out of 32,000 men, thirteen regiments only have been disbanded, which do not amount to more than five or six thousand, besides a few invalids, which were taken from the establishment of

the army, and put upon the establishment of the hospital. So that there are the corps now subsisting of more than 25,000 men, which corps may be filled up to their complement whensoever the government pleases, and that even without any noise or notice taken. For the case is very different in that respect, where the regiments are few, and those kept complete: there, if the numbers allowed by act of parliament are exceeded, it must be by raising new regiments, which is easily seen and known. But where the corps are kept up only with a few men in them, and some recruits will always be necessary for them, there if the government is willing to be at the charge, they may keep the numbers up to what they please, and it is impossible to know when the parliamentary standard is exceeded and when not. Thus, therefore, stands our account: in the first place, the public is to pay 18,000 men; in the next place, the number of effective men is to be 16,347; and if those are not sufficient to exercise dominion over us, yet, in the manner they are kept together, they are equivalent to 25,000; the charge is inconsiderably less, and the terror, which is the main thing, is not at all abated.

“For the taking this dangerous step, the only justification I hear gentlemen offer for themselves,

the only shelter they fly to, is the great confidence which is to be reposed in his majesty's just and gracious intentions ; of those I will entertain no doubt : I believe his majesty is too good to be suspected of any arbitrary designs. But yet there is a general suspicion, which I will never be ashamed or afraid to own, because it is a suspicion interwoven in our constitution, it is a suspicion upon which our laws, our parliament, and every part of our government, is founded ; which is, that too much power lodged in the crown, abstracting from the person that wears it, will at some time or other be abused in the exercise of it, and can never long consist with the natural rights and liberties of mankind. And, therefore, whatever opinions we have of his majesty's goodness, and how much soever he deserves them, we should still consider, that in this place we are under a distinct duty to our country, and by that duty we should be as incapable of giving up such an unwarrantable trust, as his majesty, I am persuaded, would be incapable of abusing it, if he had it in his hands. Those we represent will expect, and they ought to expect from us, that they should not only continue to enjoy what belongs to them as Englishmen, but that they should hold it still by the same tenure. Their

estates, their lives, and their liberties, they have hitherto possessed as their rights; and it would be a very great and sad change, and such as shall never have my consent along with it, to make them only tenants-at-will for them \*."

Walpole, who was now acting in opposition to the government of Stanhope and Sunderland, supported Hanmer's arguments; and on a division of the House, they ran the ministers very close, having numbered 158 votes against 172. In this and in succeeding years, Sir Thomas spoke two or three times more on large questions, and seldom afterwards. His hopes of a restoration of tory power had been probably kept alive by the various quarrels and partial schisms among the whig ministers, and by the distracting effects of the South Sea speculations. But in the mean while the quarrel between George the First and his son had been patched up, and the Prince of Wales was no longer the coming Messiah of the high churchmen. Hanmer retired gradually into the back scenes; and when George the Second, after his accession to the crown, confirmed Walpole as his minister, Sir Thomas declined the flattering requisition of his old constituents in Suffolk, and

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\* Cobbett's Parliamentary History. An. 1717.



withdrew himself entirely from public life. Yet, if I may trust to a tradition which I heard when I was a boy, from the family of his steward, he seems to have retained a respect, or perhaps an affection, for Queen Caroline. The story runs thus:—his garden at Mildenhall was celebrated for the goodness of its grapes, and he used to send, every year, hampers filled with these grapes, and carried on men's shoulders to London, (nearly seventy miles,) as his offering to the queen. There must be some truth in the tradition, and it affords to horticulturists a curious proof of the scarcity of good grapes in England little more than one hundred years ago.

From this period (1727) Sir Thomas Hanmer is to be viewed under a different light. He seems to have lived chiefly in the country, amusing himself with gardening, and occupying the most of his time with literature. He was now about fifty years of age; his wife, the Duchess of Grafton, had died early in 1723, leaving no children; and two years afterwards the baronet had married Elizabeth, the only child of Thomas Folkes, Esq., of Great Barton, in Suffolk. There was a great disparity in point of years between the young lady and her cold though courteous bridegroom; and the results of this marriage, prompted by vanity on the one side, and interest on

the other, were very unhappy. At the end of a few years the young wife eloped with her husband's cousin, the Hon. Thomas Hervey\*, a man full of talents, but wilder than the winds. Such, however, had been the blindness with which ambition had stricken Mr. Folkes, in framing the settlements, (though he had been originally a lawyer, and was esteemed a very shrewd and sensible man of business,) that Sir Thomas retained possession of a good portion of the estates to which his wife was the heiress, and even transmitted them at his death to his own relations. The solitary baronet was indeed pestered through the remainder of his life by the continual attacks of Mr. Hervey, and by the claims of a son, who was said to have been born during the cohabitation of the latter with the lady; but Sir Thomas maintained his calm dignity, and baffled every assault †.

The diffidence and caution of Hanmer's character have rendered it as difficult to throw any certain light on his literary, as on his political life. I have

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\* This singular man became, rake as he was, a friend of Dr. Johnson. He published a strange little book, entitled "Letters to Sir Thomas Hanmer," and fell at last into complete insanity.

† Letters from Lady H., in my possession, afford ample proof that her husband had always treated her with kindness and generosity.

reason to believe that he was the author of some works which were published anonymously, and have been attributed to other writers; particularly a Review of *Paradise Lost*, "in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are considered," printed in 1733; and *Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet\**, published in 1736. The former of these works has been commonly ascribed to Bishop Pearce.

Sir Thomas Hanmer associated much with men

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\* It seems evident that the critic had never seen the edition of 1603, the only copy of which, known to be in existence, was found by me in a closet at Barton, 1823. This curiosity (for a great curiosity it is, independently of its being an unique copy) is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. It probably was picked up by my grandfather, Sir William Bunbury, who was an ardent collector of old dramas. For the satisfaction of bibliographers, I take this opportunity of recording the particulars of the little volume, which contained this *Hamlet* of 1603. It was a small quarto, barbarously cropped, and very ill-bound; its contents were as follows—*Merchant of Venice*, 1600, complete; *Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1602, do.; *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1600, do.; *Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1600, do.; *Troilus and Cressida* (wanting the title-page); *Romeo and Juliet*, 1599, complete; *Hamlet*, 1603 (wanting the last page); *Second Part of Henry the Fourth*, 1600, complete; *First part of do.*, 1598, do.; *Henry the Fifth*, 1602, do.; *Richard the Third*, 1602, do.; *Two Noble Kinsmen*, 1634, with MS. corrections of the text. I exchanged the volume with Messrs. Payne and Foss, for books to the value of £180, and they sold it for £230 to the Duke of Devonshire.

who were fond of literature ; and he was looked up to by the poor authors of his day, as a patron whose favour would be one of the best recommendations of their productions. He was, therefore, “ fed with soft dedication all day long ;” and propitiated by an abundance of the flattery which was then but too common \*. However, his reputation as a critic seems to have been established at a much earlier period ; and we find even Swift submitting some of his writings for the consideration and opinion of Hanmer, as far back as 1713. I find nothing which might serve to mark the period when Sir Thomas Hanmer first took in hand a new edition of Shakspeare ; but he probably turned his thoughts that way soon after the publication of Theobald’s edition of 1733, as I have a copy of this work, with corrections and notes on the text of every play in the baronet’s handwriting †. The preference given to

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\* Take as samples, what Gay says of Sir Thomas in his lines to Pope on the completion of his Homer ; and the following lines from Broome’s Epistle to Fenton :—

“ Unhallow’d feet o’er awful Tully tread,  
And Hyde and Plato join the vulgar dead ;  
And all the glorious aims that can employ  
The soul of mortals, must with Hanmer die.”

† In the preface to Hanmer’s own edition he says—“ He hath made it the amusement of his leisure hours for many years past to look over his (Shakspeare’s) writings with a careful eye,

Theobald's compared with Pope's edition, is avowed in the remarks on Hamlet which I have before mentioned. "In the course of these remarks," says the author, "I shall make use of the edition of this poet given us by Mr. Theobald, because he is generally thought to have understood our author best, and certainly deserves the applause of all his countrymen for the great pains he has been at to give us the best edition of this poet which has yet appeared. I would not have Mr. Pope offended at what I say, for I look upon him as the greatest genius in England; but the province of an editor and a commentator is quite foreign to that of a poet. The former endeavours to give us an author as he is; the latter, by the correctness and excellency of his own genius, is often tempted to give us an author as he thinks he ought to be\*." That Hanmer's edition of Shakspeare must have been ready for the

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to note the obscurities and absurdities introduced into the text, and, according to the best of his judgment, to restore the genuine sense and purity of it."

\* I suspect that in spite of the deprecating assurance, that the writer regarded Pope as the first of English poets, this comparison of his edition of Shakspeare with that of Theobald, was the occasion of my worthy ancestor's being dragged into the Fourth Book of the Dunciad, though Warburton afterwards tried to make it appear as an offering of friendship and justice to himself.

press in 1741, though it was not published till 1744, is pretty evident from the following agreement with Hayman, the original of which, in Sir Thomas's own hand-writing, is in my possession, and in which he tethers down the artist with a notable strictness.

“November the 28th, 1740.

“An agreement enter'd into and made this present day between Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., and Francis Hayman, Gent.

“1st. The said Francis Hayman is to design and delineate a drawing to be prefix'd to each play of Shakespeare, taking the subject of such scenes as the said Sir Thomas Hanmer shall direct ; and that he shall finish the same with Indian ink in such manner as shall be fit for an engraver to work after them, and approved by the said Sir Thomas Hanmer.

“2nd. That the said Sir Thomas Hanmer shall pay to the said Francis Hayman the sum of three guineas for each drawing, taken one with another, as soon as the whole number shall be finish'd. Upon this condition, nevertheless, and it is declar'd and mutually consented to, that if the whole number shall not be compleated in the manner before-mentioned by Lady Day, which shall be in the

year of our Lord 1741, the said Francis Hayman shall not be entitled to receive any payment or consideration whatsoever for any part of the said work.

“THO. HANMER.

“FR. HAYMAN.”

The drawings which were made in consequence of this contract are in my possession ; but the whole set was not completed by Hayman : a few of them are from the hand of the French engraver Gravelot, and these are far superior both in point of design and execution to the former.

The proposals for publishing this edition of Shakspeare involved Hanmer in a bitter quarrel with Warburton, who had entertained a similar design, but who appears to have made but little progress towards the execution of such a work. The angry critic found his labours anticipated, and he charged Sir Thomas in the coarsest manner with having pilfered and made use of his notes. Both the reputation and the violence of Warburton served to attach a good deal of temporary interest to this controversy. The fullest account of the circumstances is to be found in a quarto pamphlet entitled, “The castrated letter of Sir Thomas Hanmer in the sixth volume of the *Biographia Britannica*, wherein is

discovered the first rise of the present bishop of Gloucester's quarrel with that baronet about his edition of Shakspeare's plays. To which is prefixed an impartial account of the extraordinary means used to suppress this remarkable letter. By a proprietor of that work (Philip Nichols). 2nd edition. London. 1763." This pamphlet gives a somewhat confused account of the measures practised by Warburton and his friends to get the letter which Sir Thomas had addressed on this subject to Dr. Smith, the Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and which had been prepared for the press, omitted in the publication of the *Biographia Britannica*.

Hanmer's letter (as it is given in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*) was as follows:—

“ Mildenhall, near Newmarket,  
Suffolk, October 28, 1742.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I have much doubted with myself whether it were proper for me to return an answer to the favour of your letter, till after hearing again from you or Dr. Shippen. There seems to arise some difficulties with respect to the design of printing a new edition of Shakespear, and I beg it may be laid aside, if you are not fully satisfied that some advantage may arise from it to the University; for I have no end in view



to myself to make me desire it : I am satisfied there is no edition coming or likely to come from Warburton ; but it is a report raised to support some little purpose or other, of which I see there are many on foot. I have reason to know that gentleman is very angry with me for a cause of which I have no reason to be ashamed or he to be proud. My acquaintance with him began upon an application from himself ; and at his request the present Bishop of Salisbury introduced him to me for this purpose only, as was then declared, that as he had many observations upon Shakespear then lying by him, over and above those printed in Theobald's book, he much desired to communicate them to me, that I might judge whether any of them were worthy to be added to those emendations which he understood I had long been making upon that author. I received his offer with all the civility I could : upon which a long correspondence began by letters, in which he explained his sense upon many passages, which sometimes I thought just, but mostly wild and out of the way. Afterwards he made a journey hither on purpose to see my books ; he staid about a week with me, and had the inspection of them : and all this while I had no suspicion of any other design, in all the pains he took, but to perfect a correct text in Shakespear, of which he seemed

very fond. But not long after, the views of interest began to show themselves ; several hints were dropped of the advantage he might receive from publishing the work thus corrected ; but as I had no thoughts at all of making it public, so I was more averse to yield it in such a manner as was likely to produce a paltry edition by making it the means only of getting a greater sum of money by it. Upon this he flew into a great rage, and there is an end of the story, with which I have thought it best to make you acquainted, that as you mention the working of his friends, you may judge the better of what you see and hear from them, and may make what use you please of the truth of facts which I have now laid before you.

“ As to my own particular, I have no aim to pursue in this affair ; I propose neither honour, reward, or thanks, and should be very well pleased to have the books continue upon their shelf, in my own private closet. If it is thought they may be of use or pleasure to the public, I am willing to part with them out of my hands, and to add, for the honour of Shakespear, some decorations and embellishments at my own expense. It will be an unexpected pleasure to me, if they can be made in any degree profitable to the University, to which I shall always retain a gratitude,

a regard, and a reverence : but that I may end as I began, I beg the favour of you, if upon more mature consideration among yourselves, you see reason to discourage you from proceeding in this affair, that you will give it over, and not look upon yourselves to be the more obliged to prosecute it from any steps already taken with,

“ Sir, your most humble, and obedient servant,

“ THOMAS HANMER.”

The Bishop's strictures on this charge, which was to have been printed in the *Biographia Britannica*, if the sheet had not been cancelled, are as follows:—

“ Sir Thomas Hanmer's letter from Mildenhall to Oxford, October 28, 1742, is one continued falsehood from beginning to end.

“ It is false that my acquaintance began upon an application from me to him. It began on an application of the present Bishop of London to me in behalf of Sir T. Hanmer ; and, as I understood it, at Sir T. Hanmer's desire. The thing speaks itself. It was publickly known that I had written notes on *Shakespear*, because part of them were printed ; few people knew that Sir T. Hanmer had ; I certainly did not know ; nor, indeed, whether he was living or dead.

“ The falsehood is still viler (because it skulks

only under an insinuation) that I made a journey to him to Mildenhall, without invitation; whereas it was his earnest and repeated request, as appears by his letters, which I have still by me.

“It is false that the views of interest began to show themselves in me to this *disinterested gentleman*. My resentment at Sir Thomas Hanmer’s behaviour began on the following occasion:—A bookseller in London, of the best reputation, had wrote me word, that Sir Thomas Hanmer had been with him, to propose his printing an edition of Shakespear on the following conditions: of its being pompously printed with cuts (as it afterwards was at Oxford) at the expense of the said bookseller, who, besides, should pay one hundred guineas, or some such sum, to a friend of his (Sir Thomas Hanmer’s), who had transcribed the *glossary* for him. But the bookseller, understanding that he made use of many of my notes, and that I knew nothing of the project, thought fit to send me this account. On which I wrote to Sir T. Hanmer, upbraiding him with his behaviour, and demanding out of his hands all the letters I had written to him on the subject; which he unwillingly complied with, after cavilling about the right of property in those letters, for which he had (he said) paid the postage.

“ When the bookseller would not deal with him on those terms, he applied to the University of Oxford, and was at the expence of his purse in procuring cuts for his edition, and at the expence of his reputation in employing a number of my emendations on the text, without my knowledge or consent ; and this behaviour was what occasioned Mr. Pope’s perpetuating the memory of the Oxford edition of the Shakespear in the *Dunciad*.

“ This is a true and exact account of the whole affair, which I never thought worth while afterwards to complain of but to the Bishop of London, at whose desire I lent Sir Thomas Hanmer my assistance ; nor should ever have revived it, but for the publication of this scandalous letter, sent from Oxford to this Philip Nichols to be inserted in the *Biographia Britannica*.

“ W. GLOUCESTER.

“ Jan. 29, 1761.”

The reader will observe that this coarse and furious answer did not issue from the pen of the polemical bishop till fifteen years after the death of Hanmer, when no reply could be made, no documents could be produced, to establish the good faith of the deceased baronet. But looking back, at the

end of ninety years, to the evidence which remains, I feel myself convinced that Warburton's posthumous charges were false and calumnious. There will be found in the Appendix to this volume an interesting letter connected with this part of the subject, addressed by Thomas Seward to Sir William Bunbury, which, while it affords a good specimen of the talents of the writer, serves to exhibit the fair as well as critical spirit in which Sir Thomas Hanmer had dealt with such notes on passages in Shakespeare as Warburton had communicated to him. But the Bishop's insinuation, that Hanmer was incompetent to the task he had undertaken, may be met and overthrown by the opinion of Samuel Johnson. Reviewing in succession the editors of Shakespeare's plays who had preceded himself, Dr. Johnson says :—" Our author fell then into the hands of Sir Thomas Hanmer, the Oxford editor, a man, in my opinion, eminently qualified by nature for such studies. He had, what is the first requisite to emendatory criticism, that intuition by which the poet's intention is immediately discovered, and that dexterity of intellect which despatches its work by the easiest means. He had undoubtedly read much ; his acquaintance with customs, opinions, and traditions, seems to have been large ; and he is often

learned without show. He seldom passes what he does not understand, without an attempt to find or to make a meaning, and sometimes hastily makes what a little more attention would have found. He is solicitous to reduce to grammar what he could not be sure that his author intended to be grammatical. Shakspeare regarded more the series of ideas than of words ; and his language, not being designed for the reader's desk, was all that he desired it to be, if it conveyed his meaning to the audience. Hanmer's care of the metre has been too violently censured. He found the measure reformed in so many passages by the labours of some editors, with the silent acquiescence of the rest, that he thought himself allowed to extend a little further the license, which had already been carried so far without reprehension ; and of his corrections in general, it must be confessed, that they are often just, and made commonly with the least possible violation of the text. But by inserting his emendations, whether invented or borrowed, into the page, without any notice of varying copies, he has appropriated the labour of his predecessors, and made his own edition of little authority. His confidence, indeed, both in himself and others, was too great ; he supposes all to be right that was done by Pope and Theobald ; he

seems not to suspect a critic of fallibility ; and it was but reasonable that he should claim what he so liberally granted. As he never writes without careful inquiry and diligent consideration, I have received all his notes, and believe that every reader will wish for more."

I have not been able to trace any other publication to Hanmer's pen. His revisions of the text of Shakspeare, his criticisms on the play of Hamlet and on the Paradise Lost, appear to have been the amusements of his retired life, rather than works undertaken with any ambition to appear before the public as an author ; his edition of our great dramatist was printed in 1744, only two years before his death.

On reviewing the conduct of Sir Thomas Hanmer, as a politician, I cannot admit that he deserved to be stigmatized as a Trimmer, though Pope intended probably to fix that character upon him by the lines—

" Courtiers and patriots in two ranks divide,  
Through both he pass'd and bow'd from side to side."

But he was doubtful and apprehensive ; and hoping, fearing, and suspecting on every side, he came in those troubled times to exhibit somewhat of " the timid foe and the suspicious friend." Far above the



influence of money, and little moved by the lust of official power, he still liked to be at the head of a party, and to enjoy the reputation of being an "independent patriot," while he held patriotism to consist mainly in upholding the landed interest, and the ascendancy of the Anglican church. Refined in his manners and his language, keeping a liberal table, and maintaining a courteous reserve, he managed to preserve a large share of public consideration through a long period of political intrigues and difficulties. His support and alliance were courted alternately by the great factions of those times, but by none could all his scruples be removed or all his expectations be assured. He was both too cautious and too proud to be entangled in the nets of Oxford or Bolingbroke, and too zealous for the power of the church to unite himself heartily with either the Whigs or the Jacobites.

In private life Sir Thomas Hanmer was much beloved and highly respected; and he would have gone to his grave happy as well as honoured, if it had not been for the error into which he fell in forming his second marriage. But he and his young wife were "ill-suited to each other, joined not matched;" and after some uneasy years, her elopement, the book published by Mr. Hervey (which tended to draw a

good deal of painful ridicule on the old baronet), and the vexatious claims of Lady Hanmer's child, embittered the last years of his life.

Of the personal appearance and manners of Sir Thomas Hanmer, in his latter days, I have heard something from a yeoman at Mildenhall, whose father was one of his tenants. His description of the great man of the village accorded well with the Montalto of Pope, and with the outward and visible signs of his character which may be gathered from other sources. My informant spoke of the baronet as a portly old gentleman, of a very stately carriage, accustomed to walk solemnly to church twice on every Sunday, followed by all his servants, and moving from his iron gates to the porch of the church between two ranks of his tenants and adherents, who stood, hat in hand, bowing reverently low, while the great man acknowledged their salutations by a few words and a dignified condescension.

He was strict, but just, towards his tenants, and they respected him; he was kind and liberal to the poor, and they loved him.

Sir Thomas Hanmer died the 7th of May, 1746, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and his body was buried with those of his ancestors, in the church of Hanmer, in Flintshire. His epitaph was written in

Latin by Dr. Robert Friend, who had been his tutor at Oxford ; and so much did Dr. Johnson admire the style of the epitaph, or so warmly did he coincide in the eulogy on the man, that he wrote the following paraphrase :—

“Thou who survey'st these walls with curious eye,  
Pause at the tomb where Hanmer's ashes lie ;  
His various worth through varied life attend,  
And learn his virtues while thou mourn'st his end.

“His force of genius burn'd in early youth,  
With thirst of knowledge and with love of truth ;  
His learning, join'd with each endearing art,  
Charm'd ev'ry ear, and gain'd on ev'ry heart.

“Thus early wise, th' endanger'd realm to aid,  
His country call'd him from the studious shade ;  
In life's first bloom his public toils began,  
At once commenc'd the senator and man.

“In business dext'rous, weighty in debate,  
Thrice ten long years he labour'd for the state :  
In ev'ry speech persuasive wisdom flow'd,  
In every act refulgent virtue glow'd :  
Suspended faction ceas'd from rage and strife,  
To hear his eloquence and praise his life.

“Resistless merit fix'd the senate's choice,  
Who nail'd him Speaker with united voice.  
Illustrious age! how bright thy glories shone,  
When Hanmer fill'd the chair—and Anne the throne !

“Then when dark arts obscur'd each fierce debate,  
When mutual frauds perplex'd the maze of state,  
The moderator firmly mild appear'd—  
Beheld with love—with veneration heard.

“This task perform'd—he sought no gainful post,  
Nor wish'd to glitter at his country's cost ;

Strict on the right he fix'd his steadfast eye,  
With temperate zeal and wise anxiety ;  
Nor e'er from virtue's paths was lur'd aside,  
To pluck the flow'rs of pleasure or of pride.  
Her gifts despis'd, corruption blush'd and fled,  
And fame pursu'd him where conviction led.

“ Age call'd, at length, his active mind to rest,  
With honour sated, and with cares oppress ;  
To letter'd ease retir'd, and honest mirth,  
To rural grandeur and domestic worth :  
Delighted still to please mankind, or mend,  
The patriot's fire yet sparkled in the friend.

“ Calm conscience, then, his former life survey'd,  
And recollected toils endear'd the shade,  
Till Nature call'd him to the gen'ral doom,  
And Virtue's sorrow dignified his tomb.”

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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FROM JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

*Camp at Ronsselaer, June 21, 1706.*

SIR,

I am oblig'd to you for your favour of the 29th of May, and return you my hearty thanks for your kind congratulation on the victory Providence has given to the arms of her ma<sup>ty</sup> and her allyes over the common ennemy; among the happy consequences it has already or may hereafter produce, the general satisfaction I find it has given at home is not the least: it has removed the apprehensions you might justly be under for our friends abroad, and I hope it will prove an effectual means of repairing their misfortunes. It is a great pleasure to me that you are satisfied with the justice I have done the gentlemen you recommend'd, and as I am sensible any personn who can deserve that friendship from

you must be very wel qualified to serve the publick,  
so I shal be always glad on the like, or any other  
occasion to assure you of the truth wherewith

I am, Sir,

Your most faithfull humble servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*Westr. July y<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup>. 1706.*

SIR,

If you can bear w<sup>th</sup> the worst poetry in the world  
because the author is more than any man yo<sup>r</sup> servant,  
my present will be very acceptable. I write you no  
news, for that is only proper for the Post-boy and  
the Gazette, and remarks upon news I leave to the  
Observator and Review. Prose, you see, S<sup>r</sup>, is below  
me, I have left method for rage, and common sence  
for enthousiasm. As soon as I recover from this  
distemper, and can think my mare a better beast  
than Pegasus, you will be troubled w<sup>th</sup> me. In the  
mean time, and ever, I am, with great truth and  
respect,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Yo<sup>r</sup> most ob<sup>t</sup> and most humble ser<sup>t</sup>,

MAT. PRIOR.

I dare not presume to give my respects to my  
Lady Dutchesse, but to Mrs. Ramsey friendship and

love in great abundance, and let her take it ill if she thinks proper.

*Note.*—Sir T. Hanmer has indorsed this letter thus, “ Mr. Prior, sent with his poem on the victory of Ramillies.”

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*West. Aug. 8<sup>th</sup>. 1706.*

SIR,

The very reason of my not answering your letter sooner is, that I was out of town when it arrived here, so all the excuses I can take for not coming to Euston from my attendance at the board, or my care of the plantations, will be found frivolous and scandalous; about a fortnight hence, therefore, all fourberie apart, I will certainly mount my terrestrial steed, and you shall see a gentle squire come pricking o'er the plain. A fortnight hence! if Mrs. Ramsey makes the calculation, she will find that this falls into Bartholomew-fair-time, and consequently my passion for her is very boyling, since I can leave the rope-dancers' booth, my dear Betty in the city, and pigg and pork, for her, an arbour, and a Suffolk dumplin: so pray, S', desire her to be patient and discreet, and on this condition my person is at her service. I am not master of eloquence enough to thank you for the kindness of your invitation, at



least I will lose no merit I can have to Mrs. Ramsay, by confessing I have a mind to come on any other acc<sup>t</sup> than that of my laying myself at her feett. I think that last sentence was gallant.—I have no news to tell you. The west winds have driven our descent back, and we do not know if we shall first hear of a battle in Spain, Italy, or Flanders. God send us success, and keep me long in your good graces, w<sup>ch</sup> next and immediately under those of the above-mentioned Mrs. Ramsay, I shall always strive to improve, as being with great truth and respect,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> and most humble ser<sup>t</sup>,

MAT. PRIOR.

*Note.*—I imagine that the Mrs. Ramsay, mentioned in this and in many other letters addressed to Sir T. Hanmer, was a friend, and very frequently the companion of the Duchess of Grafton; and that she is the lady whom Swift notices in his Journal, Dec. 30th, 1712. He says, “Duke of Ormond, Lord Arran, and I, dined privately to-day at an old servant’s house of his. One Mrs. Ramsay dined with us; an old lady of about 55, that we are all very fond of.”

FROM LIEUT.-GENERAL LUMLEY.

(1706.) *From the Camp before Menin,*  
*August the 16, new stile.*

SIR,

I did, what will all was be agreeable to me, writ to you, before I was detached from the great army, to the siege of this place; as it is of great consequence, the French have made it extremely strong. We have been three weeks before it; our lines of circumvallation are at lest nine miles in compas, and we at first but few troops for such an undertaken; thirty-two battallions and twenty-four squadrons with which I was commanded, but now we have fifty battallions. It is teen days since we opened our trenches. We have a great artillery, and it is necessary, for it must be by force of fire we take it; our engineers are now saping for mines on the counter-scarp, to which place, till we bring our batters, it will not be ease to judge, how soon we shall be master of the town. Our camp being in reach of their cannon we have suffered, but not so much as might have been expected. I hope we shall soon dismount most of theres. The Elector and Duke of Vandome are joyning their army, I believe rather to prevent any farther mischief we might do them, then to endeavour to raise this siege, unless by our

neglect we should give them an oportunity. Comte  
Cornell Overquerque, who is of your acquaintance,  
three or four days agoe, that I was with him in the  
trenches, was shot in the lower part of his \* \* \* \*;

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \* We have

had severall officers kild and wounded, and I doubt  
shall have many more before this siege is over. It  
will allwas give us an inlett in the enemyes countary  
in spight of them. The wether is with us extremely  
hot—we have not had any rain this month. You  
doe not swallow soe much dust as we doe; to wish  
myself with you now would be noe great compli-  
ment, but be assured that nobody can be with more  
inclination,

Deare S<sup>r</sup>, your most humble servant,

H. LUMLEY.

My most humble servis to my Lady Duchis and  
Mrs. Ramsey; if this country affords any thing for  
your servis comand me.

*Note.*—The writer of the preceding letter, and of those which  
follow, was Henry Lumley, brother of the first Earl of Scarborough,  
an officer of distinction in the wars of William and of Anne. He  
was at this time lieutenant-general of cavalry; and it is remark-  
able, that his name is omitted, both by the French and English  
historians, in the lists they give us of the general officers who  
served at this important siege of Menin.—See Collins's *Peerage*  
(Brydges' edition), vol. iii. p. 711.

FROM LIEUT.-GENERAL LUMLEY.

(1707.) *Milder Camp, June the 16, n. s.*

SIR,

The want of agreeable news to send you has keep me thus long silent, but as our affairs doe not promiss a sudden change, I canot longer be reconcild to my selfe without inquiring after your health. I hope this will find you as well as so publick a spirit will give leave, in a conjunctur where so greatt an expence has meett with so much ill success. That my Lord Galloway should have so ill intelligence of the stringht of enemy, and come to a battle in the plains, where the enemy had such an advantage as a great superiority of horse gave them; I canot understand, tho' posible, he might have his reasons. The ill success in Geramany proves to us what miserable allies we have of them, our hopes are now cheafly pleased in what the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugen may be able to doe, their success would make a great alteration in our presant affairs. As for us we have both an extreme good and great army, his Grace of Marlborough impatient to give a finishing blow; but the French have so great a force of their best troops, that you may believe the States will be cautious in a matter of so great consequence in this conjunctur. We have accounts

of severall changes. My Lord Windsor is much espoused by the gentillmen of the army of all partes, there not being many examples of that kind amoung us. I hope my lord treasurer will not lett Prior starve, those who have fortunes of their own, and are made happy in spight of themselves, are not to be much pityed, but posible I, who have been for soe many years at the disposal of others, have a diferent notion, in thinking that happyness depends in being master of owne time and enjoying frinds and quiet, pray my most humble servis to my lady Duches of Grafton, and to Mrs. Ramsey if with you, or when you writ to her, and be assur'd nobody can be more faithfully yours, than is, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble servant,

H. LUMLEY.

Major Gen. Wood is your most humble servant.

FROM LIEUT.-GENERAL LUMLEY.

*Menin, August the 30, n.s.*

SIR,

As I shall allwas receive the favour of yours with a great deal of pleasur, your illness preventing me that satisfaction, will give me an equall concern, tho' I may now congratulat your recovery, and I doe assure you Invy Lord Grantham and Mr. Chol-

mondely, who have it in their power to gratifie themselves in so good company as at Euston, whilst I am deafed with the noise of a siege; the town surrendered Thursday last the garison marched out; it is one of the best fortified placeis they have, and has cost us betw<sup>n</sup> eighteen and ninteen hundred men killed and wounded, they might have keep the town some fue days longer, but I conclud had orders to save the garison from being prisoners of war, wich consisted of four thousand men, and were five at first. In a few days we shall joyn the great army in order to cover the siege of Dendermond, wich place has for some time been blocked up. We may posible under-sap Ath, tho' I doubt it. The Elector and Duke of Vandome have gott a great army together, eighty battallions and a hundred and fifty-five squadrons; but I believe will content themselves in keeping us from making a farther progress. As soon as I joyn his Grace of Marlborough I will make your compliment. We think our descent long a making, nor doe I find the French alarmed enoff to detach any of their troops tor<sup>ds</sup> the sea side, and doubtless it is a leat season of the year for our great ships to be out. We must hope the best under my Lord Riverse's conduct, tho' between you and me, we think as good a chauss of officers might have

been made, as those employed on that business. May his grace's success, with wick I hope all are satisfied, contrybut tor<sup>as</sup> a good peace, and my wishes will be answered. Dear S<sup>r</sup> Thomas, believe nobody more fathfull and with more passion,

Your most humble servant,

H. LUMLEY.

Pray tell my Lady Duches and Mrs. Ramsey if I can be of any use to them in this countary by any comission I shall aquit my selfe with a great deal of pleasur.

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*West. June 24<sup>th</sup>. 1707.*

SIR,

You reflect upon my judgment as well as my sincerity, when you doubt if your letters are welcome to me; but my resentments on this subject shall go no further, then to enjoyn you for penance to continue the correspondence: on my side indeed I shall make you but a sad amends, not having heard or enquired for any news lately, my own ugly affairs having taken up my thoughts, and an ill state of health having brought me to a great deal of indifference: this is not like Cato or Brutus, but what help for it? if one is made of worse clay than they, and

can arrive no higher in philosophy than to a handsome hypocrisy. I would give a good deal for an hour's talk with you, but at a hundred and fifty miles distance, you have the advantage of receiving that impertinence in epitome only: thus then; by Dyer's leave, the Bishop of Winchester very kindly offered me the name of secretary to him and his diocese, w<sup>ch</sup> I was told was a kind of sine cure, would be of some value to me, and still left me the entire liberty of life: in a few days the good nature of the town, at least that part of it that wished me no good, carried a glorious story, that I had a provision of six hundred pounds a year settled on me, was to live at Farnham with the bishop, had abandoned all thoughts of ever serving or depending on the court, had turned my thoughts wholly towards orders, was to have all the ecclesiastical preferment the prelate could heap upon me, and in the mean time, was to sett up highchurch, and cut down all the bishop's woods into fagotts to burn dissenters: this civil turn might on one hand very easily have ruined me at court, from whence I had very good reason to expect some present favour, and might have hindered my return into business hereafter: and on the other hand, upon a nearer view of the thing I found it not considerable, and such as neither could or ought



to be managed by deputation ; it comprehended the business of a whole diocese, and was to be managed by some person who should wholly apply himself to it, and however great my L<sup>d</sup> Bishop's intended kindness and complaisance might be to me, it was pretty reasonable his secretary should always be near him : upon these views and reflexions I declined the offer w<sup>ch</sup> (to tell the truth) I had too suddenly embraced : but I think I have done it in such a manner as letts him know that I have a real obligation to him, and a great zeal for his service, and I think the business will terminate so as that I may keep his friendship, and Mr. Skelton be his secretray : w<sup>ch</sup> I think will be very proper for his lordship's affairs, as well as my own ; and if an ingenious man and a good friend finds his advantage (to w<sup>ch</sup> indeed I had an eye in the beginning of my project) I find no harm in the whole matter : in the mean while I have expedited all his seals, and affairs in the offices at court, have waited on him to Windsor at his paying his homage and receiving his prelacy of the garter, as I will likewise do to Farnham, and indeavour to carry the matter so as not to lose his friendship, nor engage in an employment w<sup>ch</sup> I find not proper for me : you cannot imagine, S<sup>r</sup> the noise this thing has made, the various talk and censure that have been raised upon

it, and the secret trouble it has given me: but so it was; too inconsiderately perhaps begun, and therefore very soon to be brought off: parlons d'autres choses—Phædra is a prostitute, and Smith's dedication is nonsense—people do me a great deal of honour, they say when you and I had lookt over this piece for six months, the man could write verse; but when we had forsaken him, and he went over to St—— and Ad—— he could not write prose: you see, S<sup>r</sup>, how dangerous it is to be well with you; a man is no longer father of his own writings, if they are good. I hope the same suspicion of illegitimacy will one day pass upon my Solomon. My very great respects must never be forgotten to my Lady Duchesse, and I must add in the same sentence my tenderest wishes to my lady whom God grant long to laugh, for I see I have no more room left then to assure you that I am ever with great friendship and respect, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> and humble ser<sup>t</sup>

MAT. PRIOR.

Mr. Poley from whom I just now come gives you his services, I have discoursed my matter at large with him.

*Note.*—The tone in which Prior here alludes to Steele and Addison, seems to indicate dislike long before he openly separated himself from the whigs.

FROM LIEUT.-GENERAL LUMLEY.

(1707.) *Milder Camp, July the 7, n.s.*

I did my silfe the honour to writ to you, wich I hope you received, I have since with a great dele of pleasur had the favour of yours of the 6 of last month. We and the enemy have continued in the same situation for about a month; at present wee seem to place all our hopes in the proiect wee flatter our silves the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugen will execut with success; truly if that fail, and the Frinch will not let us beat them, wee shall have but an ill prospect of the campayn. His grace of Marlborough whose zeal would allwas make him be undertakeing something, is doubtless extremly mortified at the dificultes he meets with. The Duch ar naturally cautions, and his grace has much to strugl with, and you see what a miserable people the Germans are to suffer themsilves to be insulted by an inferior number of frinch troops. I doubt our affairs in Spain have been as ill maniged, for by all the relations wee have seen, I canot but think my Lord Galloway's actions very unaccountable; but he is fortified by a parte, and canot doe a miss, and I conclud those gentillmen who have thought fit to be from their commands in Spain will meett with the same favour. I made your

compliment to his Grace of Marlborough: who assured mee he was extremely pleased with your friendship for him, and had received proofs of it. I have been told in this country, we were offered last year very advantageous peace. I do not pretend to be a judge, but wish a good one for my country, that they may have the fruites of so expencive a war. I have often letters from his Grace of Ormond, he tells mee how well pleasd he is with his privat way of life. I wish he may so settle his affairs as to be perfectly ease. Pray tell Sir Harry Bunbury I am his most humble servant, and wish him some of our good wine. Major General Wood is much your servant tho nobody more fathfull then,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble servant,

H. LUMLEY.

Pray tell my Lady Duchess I take it a great favour to be rememberd by her.

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*West July 31, 1707.*

SIR,

Tho' my last letter was long enough to tyre you with a useless correspondence, I should have troubled you again before now if any thing had offered here worth your knowledge: but London is

so deserted at present that I dare swear you have more company at Rixham. Our hopes and fears concerning Toulon are almost at their height; that expedition is the common concern of all, some for the honour and glory of England, and some for the security of their wagers: the last news we had from those parts is such as makes us conjecture the D. of Savoy might have been before the town the 26<sup>th</sup>. Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Tessé (as one may guess by the mapps) about one day's march further off than we. I believe we do not certainly know what number of troops he has with him, but (God be thanked) he has a hott head and no great conduct, w<sup>ch</sup> is some disadvantage to the man who is ag<sup>st</sup> P. Eugene. I cannot at this distance say how much I desire your company and indeed want your advice: I cannot come to Wales this season, so must content myself with wishing you soon here: instead of sensible prose I add a piece of bad verse to my letter, w<sup>ch</sup> is all of that kind I have performed since I saw you: with my great respects to my Lady Dutchesse, and love to my *Lady*, telling her that her dear Mr. Estcourt is made a Serjeant at Arms the same year that her less dear Mr. Prior ceased to be a Commiss<sup>r</sup> of Trade,

I remain, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> and humble ser<sup>t</sup>,

MAT. PRIOR.

FROM LIEUT.-GENERAL LUMLEY.

*Kirvich Camp, Au. the 2, n. s.*

SIR,

I am obliged to you for the favour of yours of the 30 of June. What this place now affords is, that Comte Tilly has been comanded out with 29 battalions and 70 squadrons—he stayed at Lens, and detached some troops to put Pickarde under contr'ybution, of wich the Duch will find a very considerable benifit. He is to joyn us tomorrow, in order to inable us to seend a great detachment to bring up our cannon, wich we are told marches from Brussells Saturday next. Upon wich I think it the enemys busness to attemp something, tho all preccations posible will be taken, I conclud the Duch not a letel alarumd at the Frinch gitting in to the Island of Casent and doubtless whilst we make a seige the enemy will not be idle. I think the question now is, how far the States will suffer us to act on this side, whilst their frights make them apprehend for their one countary. By the disposition the Duke of Vandosme makes, dos not look as if he designd quitting Gant, and I doe not know well how we can subsist in our winter quarters without it; and whilst the enemy can keep a communication with Nieuport they will not want for

anything: it seems to be an odd situation both they and we are in. I doubt this is like to prove a long campaign, it must be at lest the midle of this month before we can begin a seige—the Frinch have now fourteen battalions in Lille, and may put more in if they please. I hope with his Grace of Marlboroughs and Prince Eugenes good fortune, we shall surmount all difficultys and make a successful campayn. I hope you have had at Euston better wither then we, for I canot say we have had three fair days this summer. My most humble services to the Duchess of Grafton, and doe me the justes to beleave me with all truth and zeal imaginable,

Your most faithfull humble servant,

H. LUMLEY.

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*West. Sept. 9, 1708.*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>,

Tho' your last letter cryes vengeance for an answer, and your continued goodnesse to me ought to have a frequent acknowledgment, yet either the idlenesse of my temper, or the impossibility of my sending you any thing of consequence, may in some measure attone for my silence: Lisle is not yet taken, Betty is not false, and nothing very extra-

ordinary has happened. Mrs. Ramsey, indeed, has called me ten thousand brutes for not writing oftener. I received her shott, and told her she had reason on her side; she said you loved me mighty well; I told her that was tautology; she said I did not love you half so well: I answered (with a great deal of witt) she lyed; and so that discourse ended. Now seriously I would come to Euston, tho' I paced all the way down, but that I am tyed by the legg here by a business, tho' so frivolous to any but myself, that I am ashamed to mention it. I will not dispair however of seeing you before Holyrood day, if I am there then you know 'tis soon enough: by the next return of the carryer my friend Mr. Drift and I will pack up the very little of this sommer's product worth sending to you. I begg my humblest services and duty may be given to my Lady Dutchesse, and to my lady *Sans-queue* all my good wishes tho' in an other stile. Pray don't forgett yo<sup>r</sup> Yarmouth reflexions; I do not perceive that my fortune doos any way design to lessen my liberty, and I am sure I cannot employ that liberty better then in following that man thro' the world whom I really love as well as most in it. Adieu my dear S<sup>r</sup> Thomas, believe me tho' the most uselesse the most ob<sup>t</sup> of your serv<sup>ts</sup>,

MAT. PRIOR.



Bobb Friend\* and I have drank to your health, ad hilaritatem; Steward, Philips, and my friend Mr. Shelton, ad ebrietatem, but that the reformers need not know.

*Note.*—Robert Friend was the brother of the celebrated physician Dr. John Friend. The former had been tutor to Sir T. Hanmer at Christ Church, and lived to write his epitaph.

FROM JOHN, LORD HERVEY,

*Created, in 1714, Earl of Bristol.*

SIR,

My wife, and I, consulting how to make our thanks most acceptable to y<sup>e</sup> Dutchess of Grafton for y<sup>e</sup> great honour she hath done us, resolv'd to give you y<sup>e</sup> trouble of conveying them. I hope my Lady Grantham will do me y<sup>e</sup> justice to lett her Grace know, how zealously I stickled to have y<sup>e</sup> childs name Isabella, knowing so many excellent persons who have born it. Your post is so punctual in transmitting letters upwards (having never fail'd of bringing me one of Mrs. Manleys), that I can't imagine how mine should have miscarried; but they can prove no loss in any sense to any body, unless by missing of my last, you might think me guilty of an omission, in not acquainting you, who

are so very kind a well-wisher to my family, with every increase, that happens in it; especially since its most allowable pride, and greatest meritt must arise from being a branch of that happy stem, w<sup>ch</sup> partly produced yourself; a consideration which gives a value to every member that augments y<sup>e</sup> number of it: and nothing less than such an additional treasure (for so I count them all for that reason) coul'd compensate y<sup>e</sup> disappointment it hath occasioned, by rendering y<sup>e</sup> mother unfitt to partake of y<sup>e</sup> pleasure we promis'd ourselves of waiting on you in Wales this summer. The happiness (as you have goodness enough to term it) of y<sup>r</sup> being preserv'd in my remembrance, is a general right y<sup>r</sup> virtues have entitled you to, in y<sup>e</sup> minds of all who know you; and y<sup>e</sup> pleasing reflection of having so considerable a man for my particular friend, is so continual a feast to my memory, that for y<sup>e</sup> sake of my own satisfaction alone, 'tis impossible any distance, or other accident, can ever suffer you to be forgotten by, S<sup>r</sup>,

Y<sup>r</sup> most humble

And most obed<sup>t</sup> servant,

HERVEY.

*London, 8<sup>th</sup> June, 1709.*

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*West, Aug. 4, 1709.*DEAR S<sup>r</sup>,

Friendship may live, I grant you, without being fed and cherished by correspondence, but with that additional benefit, I am of opinion, it will look more cheerfull and thrive better: for in this case, as in love, tho' a man is sure of his own constancy, yet his happiness depends a good deal upon the sentiment of another, and while you and Cloe are alive, 'tis not enough that I love you both, except I am sure you both love me again: and as one of her scrawls fortifies my mind more against affliction than all Epictetus, with Simplicius's comments into the bargain, so yo<sup>r</sup> single letter gave me more real pleasure than all the works of Plato: I don't compare the letters themselves, for I must own there is some little difference in the manner and stile of their writing; but *relative*, as to the persons from whom they come, and in that regard you will not take it ill that I tell you they bear an equal value. And now as to my journey to you, having first given you, S<sup>r</sup>, ten thousand thanks for the kindness of your invitation, that matter, S<sup>r</sup>, stands thus: Mr. Cholmondely waits on his brother; so that part of my

complement is dispenced with ; and in case I should follow my Lord, and stay any time at Cholmondely, which I shall in honour be obliged to do, I shall only have time enough left to trouble you to bring me back again : upon these considerations it will be easiest for me to wait on you at Euston, which I will do as soon as I hear you are there, and in order to it I think to be at Cambridge ; so that, if you please, you may send your calesche over for me : but this great affair we shall have time enough to concert. I must return my answer to your very kind question concerning my health—the Bath waters have done a good deal towards the recovery of it, and the great specific *Cape Caballum* will, I think, confirm it. Upon this head I must tell you that my mare Betty grows blind, and may one day, by breaking my neck, perfect my cure : if at Rixham fair any pretty nagg that is between 13 and 14 hands presented himself, and you would be pleased to purchase him for me, one of your servants might ride him to Euston, and I might receive him there : this, S<sup>r</sup>, is just as such a thing happens : if you hear too of a Welch widdow with a good jointure, that has her *goings* and is not very skittish, pray be pleased to cast your eye on her for me too : you see, S<sup>r</sup>, the great trust I repose in your skill and honour, when

I dare putt two such commissions in your hand. I change this stile with a very true concern, while I condole with you poor Mrs. Rix's death. She has left few behind of so peculiar a character, as to love every body and yet be very virtuous, and to laugh at every thing and yet be very good natured; but she was born, and that is all w<sup>ch</sup> can be said on the subject. I have complements to make to you from my Lord Jersey, and from my Lady to my Lady Dutchesse; and if after my Lady's I may sneak in mine to her Grace, I hope my sincerity will attone for my presumption: and since I am in this strain, pray S<sup>r</sup> be pleased to let my Lord Nottingham know that I am always sensible of his kindness to me, and always devoted to his service. I have no news, nor do I any way deal in that commodity; and if my concern for public matters were rightly examined, I believe the interest of the private man would be found to have more part in it than the zeal of the patriot could lay claim to. I am ever, with great truth and respect, dear and honoured S<sup>r</sup>, your most obedient and most humble servant,

MAT. PRIOR.

## FROM THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

*Aug. 10, 1709, Burley.*

SIR,

I extremely please mysef w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> thoughts y<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> time draws near when I shall have the happinesse, w<sup>ch</sup> you promise me, of seeing you here : Mr. Annesley will at y<sup>e</sup> same time oblige me w<sup>th</sup> his good company too, w<sup>ch</sup> will be y<sup>e</sup> best part of y<sup>r</sup> entertainment here, and therefore I must beg y<sup>e</sup> favour of you to tell me whether you continue y<sup>r</sup> resolution as to the time, w<sup>ch</sup> I think was y<sup>e</sup> first week in Sept<sup>r</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> I may accordingly give Mr. Annesley notice of it; or of such other time as you shall appoint; and my horses shall be ready at Leicester, to make y<sup>r</sup> journey y<sup>e</sup> more easy to you.

I should make great acknowledgements of y<sup>e</sup> favours I rec<sup>d</sup> from you in Wales, but I hope you doe believe I am as much as 'tis possible for me to expresse,

Y<sup>r</sup> most humble and faithfull Servant,

NOTTINGHAM.

*Sir Thos. Hanmer.*

*Note.*—Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, (and afterwards Earl of Winchelsea) was, at this time, one of the leaders of the tory party; but his conscientious disapproval of the peace in 1711, and the part which he took in deprecating and in condemning it, drew upon him the spleen and abuse of his old followers. This Lord Nottingham was the “Dismal” of Swift; and the ancestor of “the black funereal Finches.”

## FROM THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

(1710) *London, July the 24.*

SIR,

I have the favor (of) yours with your kind invitation, and doe accept on it with a greate deale of pleasure, but I cannot yete sett a time for my waiting on you, for my Lord Arran, and I, being obliged to waite on the Queene, and to relive one another, but I hope, in a very shorte time, to lett you know when we can be att liberty to sett out from this place, in order to keepe our promise, for the Queene has thought fitte to lett my Lord Porteland buye the first troope from my Lord Allbermalle, and he will soone have his commission, and then I shall not deffer our journey. You will, I believe, thinke this pretty strong, for the Queene gave me her consent that the Duke of Beaufort should purchas the troope—When I see you, I will informe you of this transaction—People talke very differently concerning the dissolving of the parliament ; I believe a little courage would be very necessary for the new ministry. Pray do me the favour to make my compliments to her Grace, and to Mrs. Ramsay, and believe me with greate truthe, Sir,

Your most faithfull,

Humble Servant,

ORMOND.

My lord Arran desires me to present his most humble service to you, and to her Grace, and to Madam Ramsay.

FROM THE EARL OF ANGLESEY.

*July y<sup>e</sup> 27th, 1710.*

SIR,

My Lord Gernsey's son, Mr. Finch, sent a gentleman to me yesterday, to desire I would beg your interest for him and S<sup>r</sup> Francis Vincent, in y<sup>e</sup> next election of knights of y<sup>e</sup> shire for Surry; he told me that the gentlemen had met and offered S<sup>r</sup> Richard Onslow, that if he would joyn with S<sup>r</sup> Francis, he should have their assistance, and the county might be easy, but S<sup>r</sup> Richard, after taking time to consider, having not thought fitt to give them his promise for it, they were oblig'd to set up two to oppose both him and S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Scawen. I confess to you I thought you would not be sorry to give your countenance in this matter, which made me readily undertake to give you this trouble, and I dare say the publick inducements are such, that it is needless for me to put you in mind of the obligation you will lay upon a family which, I know, has a very great esteem for you, and for w<sup>ch</sup> I have heard you express the same, or of that part of it which will be



particularly acknowledged by myself: the gentleman mention'd, one Nat : Atfield, who lives at Woking, as a person usually intrusted by Mr. Zouch upon the like occasion. I can't finish this letter without returning my thanks to you for the civilitys I have receiv'd from you, by Mr. Prior, upon my undertaking a publick employment, and I must desire you to believe me uneasy till I have an opportunity of paying my compliments to you upon the like occasion, which I must hope will not be long, both because of my hearty good wishes for my country, and the sincerity with which I have allways been, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most faithfull,

Humble Servant,

ANGLESEY.

*Note.*—Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesey.

FROM ROBERT HARLEY (AFTERWARDS EARL OF OXFORD) TO SIR THOMAS HANMER.

*Augu. 1, 1710.*

SIR,

I was unfortunate in not having the happiness to kiss y<sup>r</sup> hands before you left the towne; and I should have followd you into Suffolk with my letters, but that I find by experience the post is a

very indifferent way of sending the most ordinary business ; a peculiar sort of a curiosity seems to have possessed some peoples minds, tho' I never write anything worthy their perusal, but I hope a very good occasion wil suddenly draw you to towne, and then I shal have an opportunity of assuring you with how great respect I am, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble obedient servant,

RO: HARLEY.

*Note.*—Complaints of the *post*, in Queen Anne's reign, are not peculiar to Harley.

FROM THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO SIR  
THOMAS HANMER.

*August 2d in the morning, 1710.*

SIR,

Her Ma<sup>ty</sup> having resolved to put the Treasury into a comission of five, has commanded me to signify to you her intention of nominating you for one of the Com<sup>rs</sup>. I hope this employment, where you may be so serviceable to the Queen and the publick, will be agreeable to your inclination ; but since the Com<sup>n</sup> cannot be prepared before I have your answer, I desire you will return it as soon as may be, either by this messenger, who is no very good rider, or by one of your own servants who may make more hast,

and hoping that very soon after we shall see you here, I shall only in the mean time earnestly recommend to you the secret, and assure you that I am, with great truth and esteem, Sir,

Your most faithfull humble servant,

SHREWSBURY.

The foregoing letter is interesting, as it shows that Q. Anne and Shrewsbury, &c., had matured their plan for the dismissal of Lord Godolphin as early at least as the 1st of August, though *he* does not appear to have suspected their intentions before his interviews with the Queen on the 7th August. "He [Godolphin] concluded the latter audience on the 7th with submitting to her decision whether he should continue in office, offering to do so or not, as she should deem it for her interest, concluding with the categorical question, 'Is it the will of your Majesty that I should go on?' the Queen replied without hesitation, 'Yes!'"—(See also G.'s letter to Marlborough of the 8th). Godolphin received his formal dismissal on the morning of the 8th.—See Coxe's *Memoirs of Marlborough*.

Sir Thomas Hanmer declined this offer, but I have not any copy of his answer to the Duke of Shrewsbury's letter. The commissioners, appointed on the 8th, were Earl Paulet, Mr. Harley, Mr. Pagett, Sir Thos. Mansell, and Sir Robt. Benson.

FROM THE EARL OF OXFORD.

*June 3, 1711.*

SIR,

I hope you wil not be displeasd that I repeat my desires that you wil consider of coming into her ma<sup>ties</sup> service; I am very far from pressing any thing

w<sup>ch</sup> may be uneasy to your inclinations, or your own private affairs; but would leave the accomodating the time and other circumstances to what would be most agreeable to you. I wil endeavour to see you some time tomorrow, and am, with the greatest esteem,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble and

Obedient Servant,

OXFORD.

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*West, Aug. 28, 1711.*

DEAR SIR THOMAS HANMER,

If you ever knew the tenderness of a true friendship, you will pittty my present condition, when I tell you that my dear Lord Jersey went seemingly well to bed on Saturday night, and at five on Sunday morning dyed—be his spirit for ever happy, and his memory respected. The only moment of ease w<sup>ch</sup> I have found since this cruel blow is just now while I complain and write to you. Time and necessity I know cure all our sorrows; but as yet I feel a load upon my spirits which I conceal from the world, and which must be too hard

for human nature if it lasts. I know you loved my Lord Jersey, and I hope I trouble you while I give you an account of his death: the Queen, the nation, mankind has lost a pattern of honour, integrity, and good manners; you, S<sup>r</sup>, have lost a man who understood your merit, and courted your friendship; after you have wept for him, S<sup>r</sup>, as I beg you to do, I will wish in recompense that those years which he might reasonably have expected, may be added to yours: in the mean time I desire you to believe that till I lye extended on the biere as I saw my poor lord this morning, I remain most sincerely and inviolably, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your obedient and humble servant,

MAT. PRIOR.

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*West, Oct. 9, 1711.*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>,

I ought to be ashamed to see a letter from S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Hanmer lye a fortnight upon my scrutoire unanswered: but what signifies apologysing? if you have not heard from me, I take it for granted you have heard of me: and I am the man of the

world that need least give an account of himself, since every Post-boy can do it twice a week for me : this must be the subject of our entertainments when I have the honour to see you here, for I shall not possibly come down to Suffolk, that county not lying (as you know) directly in the road to France : and since 'tis time for us to be good husbands in our journey to that kingdom, I hope we have found a nearer way thither than even thro' Bouchain. We are a little disheartened at the disappointment we have mett at Canada, w<sup>ch</sup> is all owing to the avarice or treachery of the godly at New England : the same party are doing all the mischief they can in Old England, they are really such a race of men that the Palatins are more our countrymen than they : lett us talk of better people, I just came from the House of Lords where I have seen L<sup>d</sup> Harcourt and Earl Dartmouth take their seats ; and after, the House of Commons called up and prorogued by five vice-kings till the 13 of Nov<sup>r</sup> ; I wish it had been sooner, for I cannot tell you how much I long to see you ; in the mean time, I thank God I go on per convicia et laudes, intending always to act as one who aspires to your friendship, and hoping to assure you that in some time I shall have proved the meanest indeed, but yet the instrument of our having

a certain and an honourable peace, to which God of his mercy, &c.

Pray S<sup>r</sup> give my kind service to our friends who have the honour to be with you, and believe me ever with great truth and respect, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> and  
humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

MAT. PRIOR.

I have given your complement to the most afflicted widdow living, and have her order to say she hopes my Lady Dutchesse will never be in her condition: your little friend Harry is the most sensible mourner that ever reasoned at eleven upon God's decrees of life and death. Adieu, S<sup>r</sup>, God bless you and yours for ever.

FROM THE SPEAKER (BROMLEY).

*Baginton, Aug. 6, 1712.*

SIR,

Your obliging letter from Ghent followed me hither, where I am glad of a retirement after 9 months spent in town.

I believe there is a good deal of satisfaction in our general's\* last march, and in his conduct on that

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\* The Duke of Ormonde.

occasion ; & I hope he has some now after the uneasinesses he met with before. His friends and humble servants have been sorry he happened to be at the head of the army, when so little honour was to be gained by the comand ; and perhaps he was in one respect the fittest man for this juncture, bec. his reputation was so unquestionably established that he could loose none ; & every one is sensible, that it is only owing to the situation of affairs, that he has not performed as glorious actions as any that went before him. It is concluded, he has secured what was most wanted, for that the possessing Ghent and Bruges are likely to facilitate the peace.

Since he is pleased to remember me, I beg you'l make him the proper returns for that honour.

I am very much affected with that part of your letter w<sup>ch</sup> concerns y<sup>r</sup> self. I hoped your indisposition to any publicke employment would not have continued, & I am persuaded others hoped the same, & that you would at last cheerfully yield to the vox populi, as well as to the desires of those who are better judges of y<sup>r</sup> qualifications for the employment spoke of for you. I cannot answer the thousand reasons against it that you have not mentiond, but for that you have, with great submission, I do not think it an objection unanswerable, when I am confident that few in our time have been so well



qualified even in that particular. I would not be thought to complement you, & I am sure I do not, when I tell you, there is no person in the H. of C., besides y<sup>r</sup> self, I won't say so capable, but in any degree fit for it, & therefore, tho' choice should not, yet I hope necessity will determine you to it, & for it. Being sincerely of this opinion, I am very improper to execute those comands you lay on me: I would obey you, as I am to obey my prince, in omnibus licitis et honestis, but when I consider y<sup>r</sup> abilities, & how much y<sup>r</sup> service will be wanted, I cannot think these comands either.

I am, with very unfeigned regards for you,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most obedient

And faithfull servant,

W. BROMLEY.

You take notice only of my last letter, I sent you another, w<sup>ch</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Bullingbroke promised to convey.

*Note.*—On the margin of this letter Hanmer has written the single word "Liberty."

FROM MR. HILL.

*Richmont, August 27<sup>th</sup>, S. V. 1712.*

SIR,

I am to thank you for y<sup>e</sup> honour of yo<sup>r</sup> l<sup>re</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup>.  
Very glad I was to find you well, & in a good town,

at a time when every body is sick, and every place sickly. I heard you had asked for leave to come throw Dunkerque, & am better pleased with y<sup>e</sup> thought w<sup>ch</sup> I had, & w<sup>ch</sup> you confirm, that yo<sup>r</sup> best way will be by Paris. You know that M. Prior was left there by my Lord Bullingbrook, & if you write to him, he will prepare for yo<sup>r</sup> reception, & help to make yo<sup>r</sup> stay there easy & agreeable. I have a nephew (y<sup>e</sup> Lord of Preesheath) who was come from Italy to Utrecht; I directed him some time since to wait upon you in Flanders, and gave him a l<sup>re</sup> with w<sup>ch</sup> he will present himself to you. I have now asked leave from the Queen that he may come home throw France, that he may be at liberty to wait on you to Dunkerk, and to Paris if you please. I do not mean that he should be any way troublesome to you; but you will have one servant the more in yo<sup>r</sup> equipage. Duke Hamilton is preparing to go from the Queen to the court of France, & Lexington is going next week to Spaigh by sea. So soon as his Grace of Ormond has leave to come home, w<sup>ch</sup> I think will not be denyed to him, I suppose you will not loose the good season to be at Paris in 7<sup>bre</sup>; the cessation is sure till x<sup>bre</sup>  $\frac{11}{22}$  & before that time y<sup>e</sup> peace I hope will be proclaimed, but y<sup>e</sup> parliam<sup>t</sup> 'tis thought will meet early. I will take care to pay all y<sup>e</sup> bills which

you have, or w<sup>ch</sup> you shall draw on me ; and if you please to take a l<sup>re</sup> of credit on Paris from Mons<sup>r</sup> Jacobus Deconink of Anvers, or Mr. Cornelius Sneps of Gand, you will draw on me for what sums you want at Paris, or else I will send you l<sup>res</sup> of credit from London to Paris, so soon as yo<sup>r</sup> secret is discovered. We have had no noisy expressions of joy here for y<sup>e</sup> cessation of arms by sea & land—'tis not from Spaign, as well as from France ; nor does it give our marchands leave to go into y<sup>e</sup> ports of either kingdom ; nor does it reach y<sup>e</sup> E. Indies ; nor does it hinder y<sup>e</sup> French privateers from taking commissions from Spaign &c.—but a peace will set all right. How we are to come at that peace is still a secret ; but y<sup>e</sup> sence of y<sup>e</sup> nation begins to be jealous of y<sup>e</sup> rapid superiority w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> French are getting over y<sup>e</sup> allies ; tho it is not yet fashionable to think so. Peace is now every body's desire, as well to save y<sup>e</sup> Dutch, as to save ourselves ; & to bring us those advantages in trade, w<sup>ch</sup> are not to be had by y<sup>e</sup> cessation ; but as y<sup>e</sup> conditions of y<sup>e</sup> peace are kept more private than could well have been hoped, there is room still for lyes & railings. You will know us by one marque at yo<sup>r</sup> return, w<sup>ch</sup> is such an alacrity & adresse in deferring & delaying every thing, w<sup>ch</sup> would be of admirable use, if they were turned with y<sup>e</sup> same dexterity to y<sup>e</sup> dispatch of business.

I believe you are better informed than we are here, of y<sup>e</sup> temper y<sup>e</sup> French are in now, and whether they will give so good terms for y<sup>e</sup> basis of a treaty, as they did offer 6 months past. We are entirely in the dark here I'me sure, and all our guesses are grounded on faction & mallice. I know one who is perfectly easy and contented with whatever is to be, & he is with y<sup>e</sup> greatest zeal & passion, S<sup>r</sup>,

Yo<sup>r</sup> most obedient,

humble servant,

HILL.

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*Note.*—Mr. Hill, who has not signed his Christian name (Richard) to any of his many letters to Sir T. Hanmer, was a man of much eminence. His public employments appear now-a-days somewhat inconsistent with his original profession, that of the church. Under king William, he was at one time envoy extraordinary at Brussels, and afterwards paymaster of the armies in Flanders. He rose into high estimation with William, and became one of the lords of the treasury. Under Queen Anne, this gentleman was employed, first as a lord of the Admiralty; and afterwards as her envoy to the courts of Italy, where he acquired much reputation by his successful negotiations with the Duke of Savoy. Mr. Hill died in 1727, after having laid the foundation of the distinctions since enjoyed by the baronets of Hawkstone, and by the Lords Berwick.—See Collins's Peerage.

FROM HENRY ST. JOHN LORD BOLINGBROKE  
TO SIR T. HANMER.

*Dunkirke, Aug. y<sup>e</sup> 31<sup>st</sup>, 1712.*

SIR,

I have receiv'd the honour of y<sup>r</sup> letters of y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of this month, and can with great sincerity assure you that your disappointment is to me a very sensible mortification.

I should have been overjoy'd to have embrac'd you here, and perhaps it would have been some degree of satisfaction to you to have heard what passd during my short stay att y<sup>e</sup> court of France. Since my being here I have had time to see very little; but I have seen enough to make me with reluctancy think of y<sup>e</sup> demolition of a place, which seems to be an instance of y<sup>e</sup> uttmost, which profusion of expence, and y<sup>e</sup> efforts of art can produce. I am apt to think that it would not be impossible still to reserve this place to y<sup>e</sup> Queen if y<sup>e</sup> objection of y<sup>e</sup> allys be not to be regarded; and if it be really a desirable thing for Brittain to have such a footing on this side of y<sup>e</sup> water. I have formerly heard of Mr. Brown, & I believe he has been employ'd by the Admiralty. Att my return I will apply myself to do him all the service in my power, to which he has y<sup>e</sup> justest pretence imaginable since he has the honour

of y<sup>r</sup> protection. The Prince of Ligni has been with me, and y<sup>e</sup> Princess d'Epinay was so at Fontainebleau. Each party tell a very plausible story. I believe y<sup>e</sup> Queen will enter very little into y<sup>e</sup> merits of y<sup>e</sup> cause.

I joyn with you in wishing a speedy conclusion of y<sup>e</sup> peace. Everything is I think ready on y<sup>e</sup> part of France & Spain for y<sup>e</sup> compleat execution of y<sup>e</sup> great article, and I know nothing which can retard y<sup>e</sup> renunciations and other forms from passing, as soon as y<sup>e</sup> Queen's ministers, who are to be witnesses thereof, arrive at Madrid and Paris. My dispatches will I imagine have quicken'd their departure. When this point is once over, every reasonable man must be satisfy'd y<sup>e</sup> Queen has stay'd long enough for her allys. I hope she will stay no longer. The end of y<sup>e</sup> summer will probably bring you back to Brittain, where there will be great want of your assistance. Peace is y<sup>e</sup> foundation on which those who wish well to their country must build, but there is a large superstructure to be rais'd, and every hand will be wanted to y<sup>e</sup> work. Nobody can contribute more to y<sup>e</sup> contrivance and execution of these good designs than y<sup>r</sup>self, and I am sure y<sup>r</sup> zeal will bring you home to take y<sup>r</sup> share of y<sup>e</sup> task. In the mean time, if you have any orders to give, you can lay them on

no man who will receive them with more pleasure,  
& obey them with more chearfulness than, S<sup>r</sup>,

Y<sup>r</sup> most faithful and

Most humble servant,

BOLINGBROKE.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Whitehall, Sep. y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> O. S. 1712.*

SIR,

I have the honour of y<sup>r</sup> letter of y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>, N. S. from Ghent, and have lost no time in putting your commands in execution. The pass, in y<sup>e</sup> form you desir'd it, was this day given to y<sup>r</sup> steward, who came to y<sup>e</sup> office by y<sup>r</sup> order for it. Y<sup>r</sup> journey to France can certainly give no offence to any one here, & sure I am it will give great satisfaction to many there. I shall send to Prior the good news, that he may soon have the honour of seeing you: and if you approve of it, will write y<sup>e</sup> same to some of my friends of y<sup>r</sup> court, who will be reckon'd yours.

I agree entirely with you, and I think it is y<sup>e</sup> opinion of every man who serves y<sup>e</sup> Queen, that we are now att y<sup>e</sup> favourable crisis, and that no time ought to be lost in concluding our great work. My Lord Lexington is gone to Spain, the Cortez are appointed to meet the very beginning of y<sup>e</sup> next

month, & I think y<sup>e</sup> forms of y<sup>e</sup> several acts necessary to compleat y<sup>e</sup> execution of y<sup>e</sup> article for preventing y<sup>e</sup> union of y<sup>e</sup> two monarchys are so well settled and understood, that in very few weeks we may receive here & att Utrecht the exemplification of them. In the mean while all other matters will be ripen'd, and I should hope two months would suffice to draw us clearly out of a ruinous war, and intricate negociation.

I shall add nothing further to this letter, but my hearty wishes for your health, & prosperity, and my sincere assurances that I am, S<sup>r</sup>, with much respect & truth,

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> humble servant,

BOLINGBROKE.

FROM THE CARDINAL D'ESTREES.

EXCEL<sup>to</sup> SIG<sup>a</sup>,

Si contenti V. Exc. che con Lei non mi vaglia più della mia lingua naturale, e che coll' Italiana io ricopra le mie debolezze. La sua risposta alla mia lettera mi ha fatto stordire, perché oltre la delicatezza dei concetti, essa vien scritta nell' idioma francese con tanta accuratezza, che a valermi dell' istessa con Lei mi vergognarei di far comparire un decano dell' Academia francese troppo inferiore ad un cavalier



forestiere. Gradisca adunque V. Exc. che in altra lingua io le renda quelle maggiori gratie che le posso e devo; in primo luogo dell' obligante attenzione sua di maggior pregio d' ogni altra cosa, e di quel nettareo liquore del quale mi ha favorito, e che mi è parso la più squisita cosa in tal genere di aque si possa immaginare. Dagli orti dell' Hesperidi, onde si cavava il nettare per i Dei bisogna che siano stati cavati i cedrati da cui è derivato un sì grato liquore, onde io per qualificarne il pregio, mi sono fatto lecito di farne un riverente brindisi alla gran pacificatrice dell' universo. Mi farà il favore il Signor Cavalier Hill di rimetterle un saggio di acqua se non distillata dai pomi dell' Hesperidi, rara però e manipolata nella fonderia reale; si compiaccia di riceverla come piccolo saggio della mia distinta osservanza che le professo e bacciandole le mani resto per sempre di V. Exc.

Servitor vero

il Cardinal D'ESTREES.

*Parigi, 15 giug<sup>na</sup>. 1713.*

*Note.*—The reader may be amused with the coquettish politeness of the old Cardinal, who was at this time in his 86th year. He died in December 1714. His employments and businesses had been many; but the action of his life which remains to do him lasting honour is, that he exerted himself to produce, and he effected, a reconciliation between Descartes and Gassendi.

## FROM THE EARL OF OXFORD.

*July 8, 1713.*

SIR,

The feavor & paine w<sup>ch</sup> confin'd me for some days hindred me from waiting upon you, w<sup>ch</sup> I desire to do not only as a friend, but I have particular business to speak to you upon. The parliament being upon closing the session, & consequently neer its dissolution, and the Queen has determin'd her thoughts to do al that is possible to assist her true friends in the next election, and to part w<sup>th</sup> this parliament w<sup>th</sup> such marks of her satisfaction as is due to their conduct; this is the first point I have her Ma<sup>ties</sup> order to speak to you upon: the next is to advise with you the proper methods to unite our friends & to abolish all groundless jealousies: the third point the Queen has commanded me to speak to you upon is about yourself. I shal lay before you plainly her Ma<sup>ties</sup> desires of having the assistance & advantage of your service. These points I desire to speak to you upon alone, & would have come to you now instead of writing this letter, but that yesterdays fatigue disordered me so much, & I am obliged to attend the cabinet this evening at Kensington, but I desire it may not be defer'd longer than tomorrow, & I wil reserve myself

for any hower morning or evening you wil appoint,  
 & if you permit me to choose, I believe I can come  
 better to your house because you can command your  
 own house better than I can mine. I am, w<sup>th</sup> the  
 greatest respect, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble &

Most obedient servant,

OXFORD.

*Note.*—It appears probable that Hanmer declined to give Lord Oxford the meeting he desired, for the secretary of the latter writes on the following day (July 9) to Swift, that Hanmer had gone off into the country that morning “much discontented.”

FROM THE EARL OF OXFORD TO THE SAME.

July 30, 1713.

SIR,

I had not suffered Capt. Phillips to have gone downe to you without a letter from me had I not been taken very ill, & this is the first day that I have been able to stir out of my chamber since the parl<sup>mt</sup> rose.

The dissolution being very necessary to be hastned, it wil be requisite to adjust several matters for the better uniting our friends in supporting and carrying on that scheme w<sup>ch</sup> her Ma<sup>ty</sup> has laid downe in her last speech; in w<sup>ch</sup> your advice & assistance are so necessary that I hope you wil not deny the request of your friends that we may see you in towne as

soon as you can, because it is impossible by letter to transact an affair of this nature, w<sup>ch</sup> is proper only for conversation, by w<sup>ch</sup> we may mutually give & receive satisfaction. There is also an occasion, though of a much less importance, w<sup>ch</sup> I hope would bring you to towne. The Queen has appointed the installment of six new knights to be at Windsor next Tuesday. I should take it for a particular honor to be able to prevail with my Lady Dutchess of Grafton & your self to grace that feast with your company. I am, with the utmost respect, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble &

Obedient servant,

OXFORD.

FROM THE SPEAKER (BROMLEY).

*Jul. 30, 1713.*

SIR,

I have undertaken to convey the enclosed to you, which I am told expresses L<sup>d</sup> Treasurer's earnest desires that you would come soon to town to concert the proper measures for supporting our common interest. Some resolutions will be necessary previous to the approaching elections, in which you ought to be consulted. I am sure I shall not be willing to come into any without you, & therefore

wish you may be prevailed on to come up. In the mean time I must acquaint you, I am unexpectedly pressed to take that post w<sup>ch</sup> I know you would fill to much greater advantage, & which, besides other objections, having been privy to the applications made to you, I can never think of without your consent & approbation, & an assurance of the continuance of your friendship to me in the discharge of it.

Tho' I have no direction to mention it to you, yet I cannot forbear letting you know, I find it is much desired (& I am satisfied nothing would be more acceptable to our friends) that you would take the chair of the next H. of Commons; or to have you Chancellour of the Exchequer, as will be most agreeable to you. But these things may be discoursed & considered when we meet, which I shall hope to hear will be in a few days, bec. it will be for the service of the publicke, as well as greatly to the ease of my mind, who want such an adviser under one of the greatest difficulties that ever affected,

S<sup>r</sup>, your most faithfull

& obedient servant,

W. BROMLEY.

## FROM THE DUKE OF ORMONDE.

*London, August y<sup>e</sup> first, 1713.*

SIR,

I have not had the satisfaction of hearing from you since your leaving the towne, but I hope it will not be long before I have the pleasure of seeing you here. The reason of my troubling you with this is, to desire that you will give yourself the trouble of coming to towne, and that immediately. I must press you to oblige me in this ; I am sure it will be for the Queen's service, and the good of friendes and countrey. I have all the reason in the world to believe that there will be a change in affairs that will satisfye all our friendes, and things will be so settled as all the honest parte of the kingdome will be pleased with. You must have your share in the modelling of this new scheme ; I therefore most earnestly intreate you to oblige me in the compliance of what I desire. The Queene is, I thanke God, very well ; yesterday she reviewed her gardes. Pray make my compliments to her grace, and believe me, with greate truthe,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most faithfull

Humble Servant,

ORMONDE.

## FROM LORD HERVEY.

*Bath, 27<sup>th</sup> Aug: 1713.*

SIR,

Altho' I commonly repeat in each succeeding letter every material article in my former ones which go beyond sea; yet I am nevertheless oblig'd to you for y<sup>e</sup> trouble you have given y<sup>r</sup> self about that which you return'd me hither, and am glad of y<sup>e</sup> opportunity it has given me, to lett you know with what a secret satisfaction I received y<sup>e</sup> welcome news of y<sup>r</sup> having so wisely refus'd y<sup>e</sup> insidious offers of those who would dexterously make use of y<sup>r</sup> rising reputation, to support their own declining credit and authority; which were founded upon such destructive unprecedented measures, as even this vile, degenerate age, will shortly blush to think they've born with y<sup>e</sup> authors of so long. The chair of y<sup>e</sup> H. of C. of G. B. is y<sup>e</sup> only publick post I could at present congratulate you upon, since there I'm sure you may maintain y<sup>r</sup> noble figure my friendship wisheth, and my great opinion of y<sup>r</sup> virtue expects from you, of acting with y<sup>e</sup> strictest impartiality between prince and people, that those mortal wounds which have been given to y<sup>e</sup> bleeding constitution of this country, by y<sup>e</sup> ambition of some, and y<sup>e</sup> corruption of

others, may be so farr clos'd again (for they can ne'r be wholly heal'd) by your retrieving conduct, that arbitrary power may not be hereafter tempted to try its way thro' those fatal clefts that must and will remain. If I have gone too farr in any thing I've said, impute it to y<sup>e</sup> transports of a most fervent zeal for yours and my country's service, which challenges all y<sup>e</sup> world to show a man, who can surpass me in that sincere affection for both, which has not only been professed but practised by

Y<sup>r</sup> most faithful Friend

And obedient Servant,

HERVEY.

My wife and I are very much y<sup>r</sup> Dutchess of Grafton's most humble servants, and hope to see you at Bury Fair.

FROM MR. SECRETARY BROMLEY.

*Whitehall, Sept. 22, 1713.*

SIR,

I hope I shall have y<sup>r</sup> pardon for the liberty I am going to take. It is at the importunity of the Dean and several other our Ch. church friends to recomend to you, if you are not otherwise determined in your thoughts, Dr. Pelling to be y<sup>r</sup> chaplain as speaker of the next House of Comons. It is



with reluctance, I own, I do this, because you know men very well, and can best judge who is fittest to be made y<sup>e</sup> object of y<sup>r</sup> favour in this particular. You'll smile at the transition from a chaplain to coach horses. I have a pair that drew my great coach, and believe you cannot be better fitted, and therefore offer them to you before I dispose of them: one especially is a very fine horse, and better than 16 hands high: you shall have him or them on reasonable terms.

Our elections are now almost over, and from them it is plain we shall have an H. of Comons with a vast majority of gentlemen of the same principles as in the last.

The Q. I can assure you is in a very good state of health, she is on her legs again, every day abroad in her chaise, and sometimes hunts.

The town is very empty, and the clamour of the faction is, that Dunkirke is not yet demolished. Orders have been sometime sent for it, and persons are gone to attend it, the works are undermined, so that we soon expect to hear the demolition is begun; and I believe the delay, if it shall be necessary to give reasons for it, may be well justified.

Our plenipotentiaries have almost finished their work at Utrecht, what remains is our treaty of com-

merce with Spain, and adjusting the treaty between Spain and Portugal, and both are brought near a conclusion. I am with the greatest truth,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most faithfull

Humble Servant,

W. BROMLEY.

FROM MR. HILL.

*Richmont, 8<sup>th</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>, 1713.*

SIR,

I rec<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> honour of yo<sup>r</sup> l<sup>re</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>, just as I was going to make a visit to Mr. Lumly & to my Lord Scarborough; from thence I came into y<sup>e</sup> bottom of Windsor forrest to see an old friend, a superannuated secretarie of state, where I learn'd, or had a mind to learn, how to go out of y<sup>e</sup> world and how to dye. I am sorry to think that it is as hard to retire from y<sup>e</sup> world with a good grace, as it is to continue in it with dignity. But you have a great way to go, before you need to have these thoughts. I will therefore tell you that I found Mr. Lumly as happy as a man can be who is broak & married; he has a very good humoured lady, who is so soft & easy as never to provoke his choler; but she is so discreet as to be able to calm those short fits of

passion, w<sup>ch</sup> he must have once in an hour with some of his servants. I fear y<sup>e</sup> Holt is not so clean & comfortable a seat, as to encourage him to stay there so long as he intended ; but I am sorry that Euston is so very good a dwelling as to tempt you to stay there till you are called up by proclamation.

I have been so scandalised at y<sup>e</sup> desperate resolution w<sup>ch</sup> my Lady Jersey \* has taken, that I believe you will allso be sorry for it. I could make some excuses for her bigotry & her folly in carrying away her son, if she had first given such an acc<sup>t</sup> to her husband's creditors, as law and justice did require. I saw her the week before she took this mad leap, but she said not one word to me of any such design. I am told y<sup>e</sup> Queen was very much offended at this matter, & that is right. I am allso told that she has sent to reclaim y<sup>e</sup> child, w<sup>ch</sup> I fear would be wrong.

I hear so little news, and beleive so much less, that I dare not tell you any. I will only say, w<sup>ch</sup> I am sure is true, that the world is well pleased with y<sup>e</sup> Speaker who is designed for the next Parliament. I shall make many vows for his good success ; but I fear he must lay aside sometimes those sentiments

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\* This lady was a daughter of the notorious Mr. Chiffinch, closet-keeper to Charles II.

of honour & truth w<sup>ch</sup> are naturall to him; and in order to govern by the power of a party, he must suffer himself to be ruled by y<sup>e</sup> directions of a ministry.

We are like to loose our old members for y<sup>e</sup> city, w<sup>ch</sup> would not have happened, I believe, if y<sup>e</sup> writs had been issued a little sooner, that y<sup>e</sup> election for y<sup>e</sup> city might have been early. Those who are not pleased with y<sup>e</sup> treaty of commerce have got ground in y<sup>e</sup> city and country, and I do not hear that any commissioners are yet appointed to mend or explain y<sup>e</sup> treaty, pursuant to the last address of Parliam<sup>t</sup>. We have yet no peace proclaimed, nor any treaty of comerce settled with Spaign, any more than y<sup>e</sup> Dutch & Portugese; nor have y<sup>e</sup> ships w<sup>ch</sup> have been so long loaded, got their dispatches yet for y<sup>e</sup> South Sea. Some of these things must be done, I believe, before you meet at Westminster.

I think y<sup>e</sup> demolition of Dunkerque does now go on in earnest & I am glad of it; but I would not have had y<sup>e</sup> obligation to y<sup>e</sup> burgess of Stockbridge\*.

'Tis feared y<sup>e</sup> parliam<sup>t</sup> in Ireland will be of a complexion to choose Mr. Broderick for their speaker, tho' y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> L<sup>t</sup> is to recomend S<sup>r</sup> Ric<sup>d</sup> Levins to their choice.

I am sorry S<sup>r</sup> that you are pleased to make

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\* Mr. George Dashwood.

any excuse for not preferring Mr. Jenkins at my request. I could not refuse to ask; but at y<sup>e</sup> same time I would gladly have compounded with you for a denyall, if you would have pardon'd y<sup>e</sup> freedom of my petition.

I know not how it is, nor am I concerned to know why it is, that after about 18 months, we have yet no post, nor no packet boats settled to Calice. Mr. Prior is preparing to come home, I hear, and I doubt much whether his successour, Gen<sup>l</sup> Ross, will persuade y<sup>e</sup> court of France to have more complaisance for us.

I fear I tire you, while I am filling up my paper to the length of a respectfull l<sup>re</sup>. I must add still, that I have no thought of decamping yet, because I am so near my winter quarters; but if you have any services for me in London, I will go over any morning, and be glad of any occasion w<sup>ch</sup> may show y<sup>e</sup> respect & passion with which I am,

S<sup>r</sup>, y<sup>r</sup> most humble obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>,

HILL.

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*Paris the 10 March, N. S. 1714.*

SIR,

It is with great satisfaction that I answer to the Speaker of the House of Commons, a letter

received (indeed too long since) from S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer, and that the just esteem w<sup>ch</sup> my private friendship has always sett upon that excell<sup>t</sup> person is approved nemine contradicente by the nation of Britain: the parliament that lays so good a foundation will, I am fully persuaded, go on to give us all the advantages we ought to expect from the peace, and as to my own part I shall rest very easy as to the commerce, or any other article, when the whole is to pass thro' the hands of that gentleman who has, like the Queen he serves, a heart entirely English. From a parliam<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will be a very good one to a parliam<sup>t</sup> that has been very bad, is an easy transition; I am sorry for the unaccountable transactions in Ireland, for I am sure they vex one of the best men alive, the Duke of Shrewsbury: and one part of your work must be to unravel what Broderick has entangled. I believe I shall be able very soon to send you the news of a peace between the Emperor and this crown; and I hope this will strengthen the resolutions of the Queen's friends at home, as it will give a new addition to her honour here abroad; after this I know not how long her maj<sup>ties</sup> orders will continue me in this place and station: but this I know, that as they will always be recieved by me with the strictest duty, so will

they be likewise with the greatest pleasure while they are transmitted to me by my L<sup>d</sup> Bolingbroke and Mr. Bromley, and concerted by S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Hanmer. I have complements to make to you from every body, beginning with Mons<sup>r</sup> Torcy, and so on to our little friend Villiers. I shall send that church of Engl<sup>d</sup> hero to you; and assure you per advance, if his virtue and spirit encrease with his age, he is likely to make one of the greatest men alive. I must charge you with my complements to my Lady Dutchesse, and desire you to continue to me the honour of being ever with the greatest respect and friendship, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> and

Most humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

M. PRIOR.

My humble service to Mr. Philips. Victoria is well, but melancholy.

FROM RICHARD STEELE TO SIR THOMAS HANMER.

*March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1713-4, Bloomesbury-square.*

SIR,

The vote which passed upon me last night has, as far as common fame can do it, made me a seditious man. The whole tenour of my life and actions has been such as gave me hopes of another treat-

ment. My friends about me tooke me down when I was going to throw away my papers, and speake what I thought most materiall for the consideration of the house on that occasion ; but that is now too late to think of.

I am pronounced a guilty man by an awfull assembly, but an assembly which cannot act in points of justice but in a discretionary or declarative way. They can say what they think of a thing, but I do not know whether they can go any further but by way of laying accusations before another court.

I writ what I writ with the laws in my view, and thought my self safe as long as I had them on my side. I am sure I did what I did in order to preserve them, and they are now my refuge. It is some comfort to me that my adversaries were reduced to the lamentable shift of saying, that tho what I said were true, I should be an offender in saying it. This is a monstrous position, for hell is the only place which can be destroyed by truth. My reputation, which is dearer to me than my life, is wounded by this vote, and I know no way to heal it but by appealing to the laws of my countrey, that they may have their due effect in the protection of innocence. I therefore humbly desire proper questions may be put to bring about resolutions of this kind, to wit,—

That Mr. Steele, who is expelled this house for



——, may be prosecuted at law for his said offence, and that no non pros. or noli prosequi may be admitted in his case.

That Mr. Steele is *or is not* capable of being re-elected into this present parliament.

I am accused of undutifulnesse to the Queen. I hope it will appear to all the world I have not deserved that imputation. If I have, through weakness, done any thing that will support such an accusation, I know she is mercifull, and I, who have erred (if I have erred) from a good motive, shall be a proper object on which to exert that disposition in my sovereign. I desire, if I have committed any crime, to owe my safety from punishment to no other being upon earth.

I assure you it is a painfull circumstance of my present mortification, that it robs me of the hopes of your acquaintance and friendship, which I fear it is against rules you should honour a man with, who is under the disgrace of those whome you represent. As for the rest, I ought not to be much troubled at my leaving a place wherein I was so unacceptable as not to be suffered, on the most popular subject imaginable, that of expressing my self,

S<sup>r</sup>, y<sup>r</sup> most obedient and

most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

## ANSWER OF SIR THOMAS HANMER.

*March 20, 1713.*

SIR,

I could not think it proper for me to communicate any letter to the house without knowing what it contain'd, or from whom it came, and therefore I open'd one which was brought to me in that manner last night, and finding it subscribed by you, I wou'd acknowledge to your self the having receiv'd it since that is all I can doe upon it.

The resolutions which you desire the house wou'd pass can by no means regularly be proposed to them, since all debate upon that subject is closed & at an end; and though the oportunity for it were still subsisting, yet I believe, upon your second thoughts, you will agree in opinion, that when any man's actions or writings are under the consideration of such an assembly, it can never come properly from the person himself who is in question, to direct or propose what the judgement shall be, or how far the punishment shall extend. I will not pretend to advise you, but as you insist upon the laws of your countrey as the rules by which every subject ought to be guided & tried, I wou'd remind you of another obligation equally strong upon us all,

which is, to submit to the legal jurisdictions established in our countrey for the application & execution of those laws. Of those jurisdictions there is none more known or more necessary than that before which you have stood; and since the penalty inflicted is no other than the divesting you of that honour and those priviledges which your seat in that place gave you, the sentence was pass'd, I will not content my self with saying by the most proper, but by the only judges upon earth capable of giving it. In this case, therefore, there is no appeal, nor is it in the nature or course of justice to allow of any from a superiour to an inferiour court. I hope you will be perswaded to lay aside all thoughts of any thing that looks like it; at least it cannot pass through my hands, though, in any thing consistent with my duty, I shou'd be glad to show my self,

S<sup>r</sup>, &c.

REPLY FROM RICHARD STEELE TO SIR THOMAS  
HANMER.

*Bloomsbury-Square, March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1714.*

HONOURED S<sup>r</sup>,

I hope you will have the goodnesse to forgive the method I tooke towards coming at another examination of my writings.

Before I had the honour of receiving yours, I had written to Mr. Wortley that your hesitation in the matter had determined me that I had taken a wrong way.

I give you my most humble thanks for condescending with your usuall clearnesse and perspicuity to explain to me my error.

You have added the authority of reason to an implicit relyance on your character in convincing,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Y<sup>r</sup> most obedient and

Most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

FROM THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

*Hannover le 23 Mars 1714.*

MONSIEUR,

Le Baron de Schutz m'ayant rendu compte de la maniere obligeante dont vous vous estes expliqué par rapport aux interets de ma maison, je n'ay pas voulu manquer à vous en temoigner ma reconnoissance. Je n'ay jamais douté, monsieur, qu'un homme aussi éclairé que vous estes, et qui n'a jamais eu d'autre regle de ses actions que le bien de sa patrie, (ayant pour elle le zele le plus pur et le plus desinteressé) ne prist à cœur la succession Protes-

tante établie par les loix, et je suis persuadée que le grand credit que vous vous estes acquis par vostre merite, vous fournira les moyens de contribuer à l'affermir de plus en plus. Vous conviendrez sans doute avec moy qu'un des moyens les plus efficaces pour parvenir à ce but, sera de presser l'esloignement du Pretendant, ainsy que le dernier parlement l'a jugé nécessaire pour la sureté de la nation. J'espere que vous y travaillerez, et je vous prie de croire que j'y seray fort sensible. J'ay appris avec beaucoup de joye la maniere honorable et unanime dont vous avez esté eslû orateur, sçachant combien vous estes capable d'en remplir dignement les fonctions. Au reste je vous prie d'estre persuadé (et de vouloir en persuader ceux qui pouvoient en douter) que bien loin que l'eglize Anglicane ait rien à aprehender de ma maison, elle doit en attendre au contraire toute la protection imaginable, et que sa seureté et son bonheur seront toujours nostre principal soin, lorsque nous serons en estat d'y travailler.

Je suis tres sincerement,

Monsieur,

Votre tres affectionnée

Serv<sup>r</sup>,

SOPHIE ELECTRICE.

Sir Thom. Hanmore.

## SIR THOMAS HANMER'S ANSWER.

MADAME,

Je vois par la lettre que V. A. E. m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire, que Mons<sup>r</sup> le Baron de Schutz luy ait rendu un compte fidele de ma conduite : et puisque vous avec eu la bonté, Madame, de l'approuver, j'ose bien vous assurer que je ne la changeray jamais. Je suis trop sensible aux devoirs de mon honneur et de ma conscience, et trop dévoué aux interets de ma religion et de ma patrie, pour ne pas être fort attaché à la conservation de nos loix, qui ont réglé la succession de ces couronnes. Je suis bien aise de ce que le choix d'un orateur pour la chambre basse ait eu l'approbation de V. A. E., et je la supplie très humblement d'avoir bonne opinion de ce parlement, puisqu'il a mis à sa tête une personne si connue pour son zèle et son attachement aux interets de votre serenissime maison. S'il y a quelque agrément pour moy dans cette charge pénible, c'est qu'elle me fournit les moyens de veiller de près, afin que rien ne se fasse dans cette assemblée à votre préjudice. Je suis, Madame, je l'avoue franchement, de cette opinion, que le véritable successeur est trop éloigné, et que le Pretendant est trop près de nous. Il y a de grandes difficultés à faire changer

cette situation à l'un ou à l'autre : mais le parliam<sup>t</sup> ne cessera pas d'en temoigner son inquietude jusques à la fin. Je n'auray pas de peine, Madame, à faire croire à ceux qui ont toujours temoigné le plus de zele pour la religion etablie, qui est la religion de la monarchie et de la nation, qu'ils doivent tout espérer de la bonté et de la protection de V. A. E. et de sa maison, parcequ'ils s'en rendront dignes par leur zele, leurs services, et leur fidelité. C'est uniquement par ces voyes, que je pretend me recomender à l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, etant avec un zele et un atachement inviolable,

Madame, De V. A. E.

Le tres humble

Tres ob<sup>t</sup> Serviteur.

FROM THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

MONSIEUR,

Come je voy par votre lettre et par tout ce que le Baron (Niebuhr?) m'a fait savoir, l'interest que vous prenez en tout ce qui me regarde, j'ay creu que je devois vous faire part d'une lettre que j'ay recue par une personne qui m'est connue, parceque vous pourrez tant mieuX prendre vos mesurs la deseu. Cet une des moindres marques que je vous peu donner de la con-

fiance que j'ay en vous. J'en souhaite de plus reelles pour vous pouvoir temoigner par des services agreables combien je vous estime.

SOPHIE.

27 *Avril*, 1714.

(Enclosed in the foregoing.)

"Copy of a letter written to the Electrice, Paris, 5th April, 1714."

"Having procured some letters of recomendation I came to Barleduc the 4 of February last, and continued till the beginning of March. The Pretender is to leave Barleduc, under pretence of going to Swisserland or Venice, to land in Scotland, which his people assured me will be in a short time, his plate being the greatest part sent to St. Germans, and all things preparing for his departure. Brigadier Nugent, an Irishman, expects to command ; he was there during my stay, and then retourned to his command at Strasbourg. I heard him say the Pretender (whom all there call king) was assured of more than 40,000 men in arms as soon as he should be landed. I am well informed that the Pretender has corrupted severall officers in the Queen's service, particularly those at present in Scotland. They assured me those troops will not oppose him. I have further reason to believe the truth of this for that,



during my stay, arrived a Scotch gentleman post with a packet of letters, which he told me was from the army in England and Scotland, and that the Pretender's interest was effectually established. Father Connell, the Pretender's chaplain, and two gentlemen of the bedchamber, told me that when the Pretender should be landed, such a guard should be put into the Tower of London, which would hold it out for his interest, which would infallibly fright that city into any compliance without any danger to the persons concerned, who in case of failure may always capitulate. The Pretender hath with him Mr. Lesley a church of England minister; he is in much esteem and hath a very great correspondence in England. Curriers pass very much, in which his letters are many. I heard the Pretender say to Brigadier Nugent that my Lord Bullingbroke asked the Duke of Berwick if he was a biggot, the contrary of which the Duke assuring him, he replied, we have no objection. I was then drinking coffee with the page of the backstairs in a little room next to the Pretender's, whose door was open. I was several days employed in writing letters to the Pretender's friends in Britain and blanc commissions which were after directed and filled up by the secretary of state. Queen Ann's illness gave an unspeakable sorrow to the

Pretender and all there, as her recovery did a joy. They depend on having her mercy in case of any miscarriage, having found the same in their last attempt. The Pretender was att Luneville, news of Queen Ann's illness brought him post to his counsell. I heard him say as he entered his chamber, if the Princess dyes I am ruined. In last January there was a quaker att Barleduc, who made a very handsom appearance. In his way he gave the Pretender assurance of the quakers' in England fidelity to him. The Pretender was mightily pleased with him. I mentioned in discourse with a gentleman of the Pretender's counsell, that if the Prince of Hanovre should be present att this parliament, it might be very prejudicial to affairs ; & was answered nothing could be more fatal, but that there was no danger, Princess of Denmark would not suffer it. The Pretender is very lean and tall, of a brown complexion, his humour and person not disagreeable, lives very regularly, every day hunts if the weather permits, not, that I can discover, any way debauched ; he has no learning, not inclined to study, familiar with every one, seems to want a steady judgment. There are with him about sixty persons, some of which, particularly Sir Thomas Higgins, now knighted and secretary of state, were concerned in the plot to

assassinate the late King William, which villany they here glory in, and much regret the miscarriage. All things appear very gay. The Duke of Loraine has an uncommon respect for the Pretender. Since my stay att Paris, I find several gentlemen dayly, under pretence of seeing Champaigne, go to Barle-duc. In Lorrain there are 30,000 French and Irish. The Duke of Lorraine has raised no forces, but made new arms att Nancy for 20,000 men.

FROM THE EARL OF OXFORD.

*S<sup>t</sup>. Jameses, Thursday night.*

SIR,

The kind expressions my brother tells me that you usd towards me oblige me to the best acknowledgement, and you shal find your favors are not thrown away. I know the weight you have as you ought, I shall endeavor to support it for the common tranquility. I think the crisis at present so particular, that it is easy to save or to plunge our poor country into unforeseen misery; your concerne & mine are the same, I shal be glad to unite with you in joint endeavors: to that end, if I may wait upon you any time on Saturday, w<sup>ch</sup> I suppose wil be a day of recess, I shal be glad to communicate to you

my poor thoughts for the public good. I am, with very particular respect, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble & Most obedient servant,

(Indorsed)

OXFORD.

“ May 13, 1714.

My Lord Treasurer.”

FROM MR. SECRETARY BROMLEY.

*Whitehall, July 30, 1714.*

SIR,

Her Majesty being very ill, and her physitians doubtfull what will be the event, the lords of the council have thought it became them to deliberate what was proper to be done for the publick service, in case that fatal accident should happen : one of the chief points under their consideration has been about the meeting of the parliament, and it being their opinion that the law does direct that the parliament should immediately meet upon the demise of her Majesty, I am commanded to give you notice of it, that you may be present in case it should please God to deprive us of so great a blessing as the Queen's life. I am, with all possible respect,

S<sup>r</sup>, your most obedient, Humble servant,

W. BROMLEY.

The L<sup>ds</sup> of the Council unanimously requested her M. to make the D. of Shrewsbury L<sup>d</sup> Trea<sup>r</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> is done,

## FROM THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

*S<sup>t</sup>. James's, 4 July\*, 1714.*

SIR,

I have this morning spoke with several of the lords justices, and they are all of opinion the session should be opened with a speech which they intend to make tomorrow. I am therefore directed to acquaint you that it would be agreeable to them if the House of Comons, after taking the oaths, did adiourn themselves till tomorrow morning. I am, Sir,

Your most faithfull

Humble servant,

SHREWSBURY.

\* This date is evidently erroneous; it ought to have been "4th August," and it is so indorsed by Sir T. Hanmer.

## FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*Paris, Jan<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>, N. S., 171<sup>4</sup>;*DEAR S<sup>r</sup>,

No part of Jonathan's despatches was so welcome to me, as that which he brought from you. I

thank you, I thank you S<sup>r</sup>, with all the reason in the world, for your letter, and shall keep it amongst the signal instances of your kindness to me: but what to answer to it?—ay, there's the question—for it bears date in Sept<sup>r</sup>, and it comes from England: the vicissitudes of three months in that enchanted island are sufficient to render all reflection upon them ridiculous; take in the two preceding months, and judge if I know more of London than of Mexico: when I compare your letter with the present state of things, what shall I say to any body that inquires about England? and how shall I answer in relation to the public, otherwise than that all my friends are put out of their employments? As to myself, what signifies it to complain, after 30 months spent here in a great deal of business w<sup>ch</sup> I sustained as well as I could, and a great deal of pageantry w<sup>ch</sup> I hated as much as any man could, in a perpetual uncertainty, and a various change of orders and Masters. Having had assurances from the King himself that He was satisfied with my service, in one word, after having (upon this great conjuncture of His Maj<sup>ties</sup> coming to the crown) given all advice to the Lords Reg<sup>ts</sup> and transacted all in this court that lay incumbent upon an honest man and a British minister, I find myself divested

of my commission at the Customs, my expences here objected to at the Treasury, and my person neither in very good health nor good heart, detained a kind of political prisoner, my affairs discanted on, and judged by every French Marquis or Councillier, Duchesse or Bourgeoise, according to the measure of their capacity, and the extent of their compassion. I write of this tant et plus, you will easily believe, to the E. of Halifax, and dayly expect his answer. Instead of furnishing the closett, I take it for granted I must sell the house—in all cases Cambridge is not very far from Mildenhall. Expecting every day the arrival of Lord Stairs, and the returns of money w<sup>ch</sup> must enable me to leave this place, I shall only add that it is with the greatest impatience that I desire to see you, and to talk to you tête à tête of many things with wh<sup>ch</sup> at this distance it is impossible for me to entertain you : in the mean time I will not despair of the Republique if you have any interest in the menagement of it, either as a courtier or a patriot, in w<sup>ch</sup> case, those two names would signify the same thing : but in the view in w<sup>ch</sup> I see things, this is rather to be wished than expected. I need not desire you to do me all the good you can in general, for I am perfectly assured you will do so ; the particular favour I beg of you is, that you would

write a word to me by the next post, and believe me to be ever, with inviolable friendship and respect, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> and  
Most faithfull and humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

M. PRIOR.

Cloe's place being quam diu bene se gesserit, the Gypsy behaves herself so obstinately well, that I am afraid she will hold it for life.

FROM MR. HILL.

*S<sup>r</sup>. James's, Jan<sup>r</sup>. 15<sup>th</sup>, 1714 (1715).*

SIR,

I can give no reason why I have never wrote to you since I went out of town; nor can I give a good reason why I write to you now, unless you will believe it is, as I do mean it, purely for a mark of respect, & to wish you a good new year, and I wish you may see 100 very good ones. I go little abroad since I am retired from y<sup>e</sup> world; and I think myself obliged to y<sup>e</sup> obligations of a monastic life here in town, as I do in my cloyster at Eaton. I have abandoned all y<sup>e</sup> world to y<sup>e</sup> conduct of those who have y<sup>e</sup> governm<sup>t</sup> of it. I am only concerned for y<sup>e</sup> share w<sup>ch</sup> you are to have, or w<sup>ch</sup> you are not to have in y<sup>e</sup> publique service of y<sup>e</sup> country. I could almost wish that you had less merit, & that you were not in a situation w<sup>ch</sup> makes it necessary for you to



be exposed to y<sup>e</sup> ill will of some, & y<sup>e</sup> caprice of others: but as you are sufficient to all these things, you must take y<sup>or</sup> fate. I should be glad to know that you are well, that you are quiet & easy at Euston, till y<sup>or</sup> affairs do call you up to town. If you have any servise in y<sup>e</sup> mean time for me here, you can comand nobody who is with so serious an attachment as I am, S<sup>r</sup>,

Y<sup>or</sup> most humble, &c.

HILL.

*Note.*—This letter from the ci-devant diplomate, paymaster, &c. &c. was written a few months after he had been a forward candidate for the bishopric of Ely, which fell vacant just at the time of Queen Ann's death. Hill had worn the habit, and led the life of a layman, for thirty years; yet his pretensions were actively supported (though in vain) by Bothmar, the archbishop of York, and Sir Thomas Hanmer: and the failure of this suit seems to have been one of Hanmer's first disgusts with George the First. (See Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2, p. 640—1; and Ellis's Original Letters, 2 series, Letter 320.)

FROM THE DUC DE LAUSUN.

*De Paris, ce 20 May, 1716.*

En arrivant d'un petit voyage que j'ay fait à la campagne, j'ai reçu, Monsieur, la lettre obligeante que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire. Elle m'a transporté dans une joye que je ne puis jamais vous exprimer, n'y ayant rien sur la terre qui me soit si cher et si précieux que la continuation de votre

amitié ; et pardessus vous me faites encore un present d'un cheval qui pour moy est une marchandise for rare. Je le conserveray, je vous assure, autant que luy ou moy aurons de vie, et j'ay grande impatience de le voir, par la crainte que j'ay qu'il ne luy arrive accident, ou que l'on ne me le change sur le chemin. C'est pourquoy je vous aurois esté obligé si vous m'aviez mandé sa couleur, et quelque marque particulière qu'il pût avoir sur son corps. J'ay chargé l'homme de Monsieur de St. Victor de me le ramener avec tous les soins qu'il pourá.

A l'egart, Monsieur, du ressentiment que vous me temoygnés d'avoir cherché à vous plaire, il y a d'autres personnes à qui vous aviez plû, qui vous auroient donné des marques différantes à celles qui peuvent sortir de mes mains, mais comme ce n'est pas matière d'être traitée dans les lettres, je coupe court sur ce sujet, et me retranche à vous suplier, Monsieur, d'estre bien persuadé que personne ne vous honorera jamais avec une si profonde estime, ny un plus sincère respect que celui, Monsieur, de votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

LE DUC DE LAUSUN.

*Note.*—This and the next letter are written by the celebrated favourite of Louis XIV., and the betrothed husband of Mademoiselle de Montpensier. This singular man must have been, in 1716, about 84 years old, and he lived till 1723.

## FROM THE SAME.

*De Paris ce 4<sup>e</sup> Juin, 1716.*

Je suis charmé, Monsieur, du beau présent que vous m'avez anvoyé qui est entre mes mains depuis hier. Il est arrivé sans accident hors un peu de fatigue dont je l'auray bientôt remis : je ne crains plus que l'on me l'ait changé dans le chemin, car c'est le plus joly cheval qui soit jamais entré chez moy. Il est de couleur gris, et fait comme un beau cheval entier ; il est fort pour porter un plus grand poids que le mien, et de taille telle que je le peut souhaiter avec les occasions de pouvoir vous faire connoître à quel point votre souvenir m'est cher et précieux, dont je vous demande toujours la continuation, et d'estre persuadé, Monsieur, que personne ne vous honore avec plus de respect que votre très humble & très obéissant serviteur,

LE DUC DE LAUSUN.

FROM MAD<sup>ME</sup>. LA MARÉCHALE DE VILLIERS.*De Paris le 13<sup>e</sup> Juin.*

J'ai trouvé en arrivant icy, monsieur, le présent le plus manifique du monde, qui y a esté apporté de votre part, et vous prie d'en recevoir

mes très humbles remercimens, et les assurances qu'il me seroit beaucoup plus agréable sy je le pouvois partager avec vous. Je vous demande aussy de croire, monsieur, que je suis très sensible à l'honneur de votre souvenir, et que vous n'avez laissé personne en France qui vous honore plus parfaitement, monsieur, que votre très humble et obéissante serviteur,

LA M<sup>ALLE</sup>. D<sup>SSE</sup>. DE VILLARS.

*Note.*—This lady, who was celebrated for her beauty and agreeable qualities, was the wife of the famous Marshal Villars; and it was only with respect to her (and perhaps a little by his *jactance*) that the great captain ever made himself an object of ridicule: but he was fretfully and unreasonably jealous.

FROM MATTHEW PRIOR.

*West', Oct' 11, 1716.*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>,

I intended not to have troubled you by way of epistle, and to have alleged the best reasons I could for my silence, when I might have had the honour to see you at London: if any man alive ought to have an abhorrence of writing letters, I may justly pretend to be the person; and I assure myself that your goodness and friendship to me is continually the same, and will form better excuses for me than

I can for myself in not having corresponded thus long with him whom I so dearly respect and honour. Why therefore do I write at last? I'll swear I can't tell you. And what have I to say to you? Only that I wish you all health and pleasure, things, my dear Sir Thomas Hanmer, to w<sup>ch</sup> I have been these two last years a stranger. Parlons d'autres choses, for perhaps melancholy may be contagious, and you may be out of humour, as I have known Cloe cry meerly because I can't be merry: indeed I would divert you if I could: but how? News I have little, for I see nobody. What they say at the Smyrna is, that the young monarch of France was (at the coming away of the last letters) very near dying, that our treaty was concluded by w<sup>ch</sup> Mardyke was to be so spoyled as not to receive ships of great bulk into the bason, and the Pretender forced beyond the Alps: life and death are in the hands of that God who alone knows what such a change as this of the minor king may produce: as to any advantages w<sup>ch</sup> this stricter alliance with France may beget, I am glad with all my soul for any thing that may ensure peace to us, and I hope it will never be their turn for so doing to lose their employments, their pension, and their liberty.—Dii meliora.

That the town is at present a desart, that there

are many wild beasts in it, that trade is dead, stock-jobbing goes on, and people complain, you will easily guess tho' I did not say one word upon these heads. Pardon my seeming ingratitude for not having writ so long to the man to whom I am so much obliged ; pardon my real impertinence for writing now to you when I have nothing to say ; and yet I perceive I have writ a sheett, endeavouring to express what in two words I am sure you believe, that I am and shall ever be with all respect, and as we call it in my country avec toute l'attention du monde, dear S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> and

Humble ser<sup>t</sup>,

M. PRIOR.

FROM THE SAME.

*West, Nov<sup>r</sup> 10, 1716.*

'Tis certain, dear S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Hanmer, that civility, gratitude, and even common sence should have obliged me much sooner to answer yo<sup>r</sup> very kind letter, but so it is that the variety of misfortunes under w<sup>ch</sup> I have lain, my despair of their being lessened, and a melancholy that I can't help indulging even to stupidity, have exempted me from

living and acting like other men. I can amuse myself ten hours, but cannot take the pains to sett down one idea, and can think of you a whole day without offering to tell you I do so in a letter that may be writ in a quarter of an hour: things do not make their usual impression on me; if Cloe weeps, she rather makes me angry than grieved: thus you see S<sup>r</sup>, instead of thanking you for the most friendly invitation that was ever made, I entertain you with my spleen and ill humour: I think however that seeing you would diminish them, and shall endeavour what I can to that end, as soon as I can have laid my very ill affairs in any sort of disposition, one part of w<sup>ch</sup> must be the selling my little house and effects here that I may be more like the philosopher with omnia mea mecum porto. You are in the right for staying in the country, S<sup>r</sup>, there is nobody here but the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Buckingham that you do as much as know, and I think nobody intends to come, for I do not hear that his Maj<sup>ties</sup> return is expected till after Christmas: how the public scene will then open, no man can even guess: keep to your sheep and hounds, and, without any reflection on other species of animals, esteem them very good company: in the mean time permit me to love you, and some-

times to drink your health with a friend or two, and  
continue me the honour of being ever with the  
greatest truth, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup> and

Most humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

M. PRIOR.

The princesse you will have heard, after a labour  
of four days, has been brought to bed of a dead  
child; she continues very ill.

FROM THE COUNTESS OF JERSEY.

SIR,

Having this opportunity I cannot forbear putting  
you in mind of one that is, S<sup>r</sup>, your most true  
humble servant, and will ever be so. I beg you to  
believe it, tho' I may never have the happynesse of  
teling you it any other way then by letters. I have  
nothinge more to adde but that I desire you to think  
sometimes of, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most obliged servant,

B. JERSEY.

*August, y<sup>e</sup> 3 (1717).*

*Note.*—Lady Jersey was the daughter of a person of celebrity  
in *his line*, Mr. Chiffinch, the closet-keeper to Charles the  
Second. Her husband, Lord Jersey, was closely connected with  
the early designs of Bolingbroke, and was to have been sent as  
ambassador to Paris; but this intention was frustrated by his



death in 1711. Two years afterwards Lady Jersey passed secretly into France, carrying off with her the young heir of the earldom. She plunged deeply into the intrigues of the Jacobites, and became an active agent of communication between the Pretender and persons of fashion in England. I entertain no doubt that this very civil note to Sir Thomas Hanmer, *à propos des bottes*, was intended to open the door of a correspondence on political subjects; and it was very probably written at the suggestion of Bolingbroke, who knew that the Baronet was at this time extremely discontented with George the First, and with the turn that affairs had taken in England.

FROM ROGER NORTH.

*Rougham, 8 Ap. 1718.*

SIR,

It is a new method in controversie, for the respondent (instead of quitting) to demand a thesis of the opponent and strait set him upon the defensive. When I opposed your 2 assertions, 1, that smoak naturally riseth; 2, that fire by rarefaction drew a current of air, and thought I had shewed neither was true, I must needs give a solution of that wonderful phenomenon of fire,—implying that if I failed of that, y<sup>e</sup> other was right; a sort of hardship scarce knowne but in taxing times, and one would guess you had lately kept ill company, and reasoned ill by contagion: but yet, thinking to be a conformist, I ventured to blurt out a secret or two about fire, w<sup>ch</sup> time did not allow to be made acceptable.

Here was matter enough to amuse a solitary traveller, and chiefly in reflecting how hard it is for contenders in opinion to understand each other when y<sup>e</sup> subject for y<sup>e</sup> most part, and y<sup>e</sup> language entirely, is not agreed ; for each goes a severall way for words, and saying y<sup>e</sup> same thing, shall often not perceive it, and hast adds precipitation to y<sup>e</sup> confusion : I therefore thought it an excusable trespass upon y<sup>r</sup> time to render upon paper y<sup>e</sup> matters I urged, and (together with the humble services of all here, and particularly my sincere thanks for y<sup>r</sup> oblidging entertainment at Mildenhall) give you y<sup>e</sup> trouble of perusing it.

1. As to the naturall rising of smoak, I thought your expression not scientifick, and left y<sup>e</sup> question untoucht. And I thought also that y<sup>e</sup> fact was against you, for it cannot be showed that smoak in any instance moves otherwise, up, downe, or laterally, but as y<sup>e</sup> air carrys it, and to that it is allwais obsequious : this may be observed in calnes, when smoak riseth out of limekilnes, brickkilnes, or brew-hous chimnys, & even in rooms when folks take tobacco ; for when y<sup>e</sup> current of air ceaseth, the smoak stagnates, or complies with every puff of air, till by dispersion in y<sup>e</sup> fluid y<sup>e</sup> observation of it is lost. It were well if smoak naturally rose, for many a smoky chimney would mend upon it. The mistake comes

by taking smoak for a continuum different from y<sup>e</sup> air, and then noting its swift rising up from y<sup>e</sup> fire, Whereas y<sup>e</sup> smoak is really air, onely a little fowler; and no property can be assigned to it, in toto, but in partibus onely, as in cases of ordinary solutions of bodys in menstrua: and y<sup>e</sup> swift rising of y<sup>e</sup> smoak is but a consequence of y<sup>e</sup> air's swift motion, of w<sup>ch</sup> it is a part, or at least passively contained in it: and what causeth that current is y<sup>e</sup> next point. You were pleased to say, that fire, by its heat rarifying the circumambient air, the atmosphere presseth that way, and air succeeding, makes that current wee constantly observe to vent by y<sup>e</sup> spiracula of all furnaces. If this be not the notion, I shall be glad to know what it is. I think it is that w<sup>ch</sup> Mons<sup>r</sup> Desaguliers goes upon in his book of chimnys; and I cannot but wonder that one of his distinction in philosophy, who by a cleaver process can draw out of quality purses good store of guinnys, should so elaborately build upon a conceipt of w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> contrary is literally true, for it must be condensation, and not rarefaction that draws air; the latter being too strong for y<sup>e</sup> pressure of y<sup>e</sup> atmosphere detrudes it. But admitt y<sup>e</sup> pressure harder upon y<sup>e</sup> rarefyed air about y<sup>e</sup> fire (tho' it is not so) it cannot excite any current, for it is on all sides alike, and y<sup>e</sup> pressure is

as hard upon y<sup>e</sup> spiracular vents of y<sup>e</sup> furnace, as upon y<sup>e</sup> mouth of it. The mistake comes by a conceit that y<sup>e</sup> air rarefyed is quasi a Torricellian void, or a place where y<sup>e</sup> air crowding may be admitted: if it were so, as that fire made a void, it would be instantly full, and there's an end; for it could excite no current from the fire, and supposing a continuance of that action (w<sup>ch</sup> would be a monstrous hypothesis indeed) the air would flow from all parts alike into y<sup>e</sup> fire, & not, as y<sup>e</sup> truth is, more or less every way from it. But to ease y<sup>r</sup> inquiry what is the caus of the furious currents of air, where fires are artificially disposed for it, I answer in a word, the immense quantity of Effluvia from them; for, supposing a gross quantity of combustible matter discerpt into air (as I must terme it), in a short time, as wee comonly observe done, that quantity of new made air must discharge somewhere, and that will be that way as lyes open for it to pass, or gives least resistance to its cours. And that will fall out, even in y<sup>e</sup> open air, to be upright rather than laterally, but if y<sup>e</sup> upright passage is obstructed, then any way as may be found, but vent it will, or blow up the confinement. And not only this, but all force that is free, and not held in a certain direction, will move upwards, becaus y<sup>e</sup> resistance of y<sup>e</sup> air is considerably

less that way than any other; and for that cause plants will shoot upright and not downwards, for that is against a stronger pressure of y<sup>e</sup> air; and y<sup>e</sup> bullet of a gun pointed declining will rise considerably. And for this common reason y<sup>e</sup> effluvia of fire, as smoak, and flame, tend upwards, especially flame, but y<sup>e</sup> smoak on no other account than as it is joyned with ye conterminous air, w<sup>ch</sup> falls into this course. As for flame, and coals of fire, there is more to be considered; for flame is onely smoak set on fire; there is no medium, it is either air or fire; and what is the real difference? I take it to be onely this, that when y<sup>e</sup> parts are agitated to a certain adequate degree, the atmosphere is propelled, and y<sup>e</sup> space of y<sup>e</sup> flame is a Torricellian vacuity, and by that y<sup>e</sup> action is freer and quicker, sufficient to strike light in our eyes; but without a continuall succession of fewell (such as smoak is), it is gone, but will follow a train of proper fewell to y<sup>e</sup> source of it, and there, by increase of heat, increases the flow of those effluvia that will burn: by w<sup>ch</sup> means it seem<sup>th</sup> to sitt firm there as a proper appendage, but in truth is onely a stream of fewell taking fire, & determining as other fires doe in vapour and ashes; but being a vacancy, insiding in y<sup>e</sup> air by y<sup>e</sup> rules of gravity, must ascend, as bubbles of air under water doe; and

accordingly flame undisturbed alwaies points directly upright, and being in continuall flux, with y<sup>e</sup> load of y<sup>e</sup> exterior air alwaies pressing upon it, they clasp together, and y<sup>e</sup> air is snatcht into that current wee observe allwaies to attend flame. There is a sort of flame about y<sup>e</sup> surface of glowing coals w<sup>ch</sup> by emitting great quantitys of effluvia, vent abroad and excite a current, but meer smoak hath no share in all this, for that is, as I said, perfectly passive, & moves with y<sup>e</sup> air and no otherwise. It is a great art to manage flame so as to exasperate fires, and need not be described, being well knowne under the terme pyrotechnie, of w<sup>ch</sup> comon chimnys are instances. And where no flame riseth, or effluvia increas, that art failes. Our ordinary fewell emitts plenty of effluvia; mettalls heated, less; and blind heats, such as stoves, none at all. If meer heat would make a current of air, such would excite it, but they doe not so, and are accounted unwholsome, because y<sup>e</sup> air stagnates. To conclude with that w<sup>ch</sup> raiseth the great impetuosity of air moving thro' y<sup>e</sup> spiracles of fire, it depends upon the vis impressa of a body of air, or columnne, w<sup>ch</sup> being once put in motion will persevere according to the quantity of it, and for this reason the artists, having occasion for

strong draught of air thro' their fire, contrive a tunnell of greater length accordingly ; for so much air determined in motion thro' y<sup>e</sup> tunnell will not be stopped by a small impediment, but bears all away before it, as a battering-ram of greater length hath so much more force ; thus it is in chimnys of w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> longest tunnells have allwais y<sup>e</sup> best draught, and with a little machinerie a force to turne y<sup>e</sup> spitts. And by contracting y<sup>e</sup> entrance, exerts a swiftness of air ad libitum, as y<sup>e</sup> use of stove chimneys shews, which are made to blow y<sup>e</sup> fire, and so increas y<sup>e</sup> draught : but divers accidents of position & obstruction abroad influenceth y<sup>e</sup> draught of chimneys. I have here declined all those ways of expression w<sup>ch</sup> I have presumed to terme chimeriques, but aim at y<sup>e</sup> gross and undeniable truth of things, w<sup>ch</sup> is the method much pretended too of late, but less adhered too then in any age of w<sup>ch</sup> wee have an acc<sup>t</sup>, wittness Attraction, &c. In w<sup>ch</sup> case I take the error to lye in begging y<sup>e</sup> question ; for things coming together is certain truth, and that all agree ; but that the caus of coming together is y<sup>e</sup> caus of it, as saying they came by attraction, is trifling ; as if I should say y<sup>e</sup> smoak is attracted by y<sup>e</sup> soot in y<sup>e</sup> chimney, the jest would not be digested ; however, y<sup>e</sup> system

of y<sup>e</sup> planets is no better accounted for. If I have transgressed y<sup>e</sup> laws of a letter, I beg y<sup>r</sup> pardon, being, with all hon<sup>r</sup> and sincerity,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Y<sup>r</sup> most faithful

Humble Servant,

Ro<sup>r</sup> NORTH.

I lookt on my plumber's bill, and find I paid for casting old lead, 2*s.* per cent.; whither weighed in y<sup>e</sup> new sheet or old I cannot say, but I believ, in the new. For new sheet lead, 13*s.* per cent, w<sup>ch</sup> is 3*s.* for wast and work. The laying upon y<sup>e</sup> house is included in this price. They usually exact 1*s.* per yard for meer working pipes.

*Note.*—This quaint epistle comes from Roger North, the author of the *Examen*, and of the *Lives of the Lord Keeper Guildford*, and *Sir Dudley North*. Roger was a cousin of Sir Thomas Hanmer, and seems to have favoured him frequently with very long letters relating generally to Astronomy and Natural Philosophy: and it is evident that Mr. North, having been bred in the good old schools, disliked the new doctrines of Newton in philosophy, nearly as much as he did the principles of the Whigs in politics.

FROM WILLIAM WHISTON.

*Novemb: 24, 1718.*

If we make & use such a Map for y<sup>e</sup> inclination of y<sup>e</sup> Dipping Needle, as Dr. Halley has made



for  $y^\circ$  variation of  $y^\circ$  Horizontal Needle, we obtain  $y^\circ$  Longitude.

WILL: WHISTON.

You will please to note  $y^\circ$  day when you receive this Paper.

(*Rec<sup>d</sup> Nov. 25, 1718.*)

*Note.*—This letter (if letter it may be called) is the only communication that I have found, among Sir T. Hanmer's papers, from the acute and conscientious Will. Whiston. It bears date eight years after he had been deprived of his Professorship at Cambridge, and been hunted from the University because he dissented from the doctrines of Athanasius. Whiston was at this time earning a scanty and precarious subsistence by teaching mathematics. From his addressing this hint to Sir T. Hanmer, (as well as from the tenour of Roger North's letters) I presume that Sir Thomas had the reputation of understanding, or the ambition of being thought to understand, the higher subjects of science.

FROM DR. SWIFT.

*Dublin, Oc<sup>r</sup> 1, 1720.*

SIR,

There is a little affair that I engaged some friends of mine to trouble you about, but am not perfectly informed what progress they have made. Last Term, one Waters, a printer, was accused and tryed for printing a pamphlet persuading the people here to wear their own manufactures exclusive of any from Engl<sup>d</sup>, with some complaints of the hard-

ships they lye under. There was nothing in the pamphlet either of Whig or Tory, or reflecting upon any person whatsoever ; but the Chancellor, afraid of losing his office, and the Chief Justice desirous to come into it, were both vying who should shew their zeal most to discountenance the pamphlet. The printer was tryed with a jury of the most violent party men, who yet brought him in not guilty, but were sent back nine times, and at last brought in a speciall verdict, so that the man is to be tryed again next term. The Whigs in generall were for the pamphlet, tho' it be a weak, hasty scribble, and generally abominated the proceeding of the Justice, particularly all the Bishops except the late ones from Engl<sup>d</sup>, the Duke of Wharton, Lord Molesworth, and many others: Now if the Chief Justice continues his keenness, the man may be severely punished ; but the business may be inconvenient, because I am looked on as the author ; and my desire to you is that you would please to prevayl on the Duke of Grafton to write to the Chief Justice to let the matter drop, which I believe his Grace would easily do on your application, if he knew that I truly represented the matter, for which I appeal both to the Duke of Wharton and Lord Molesworth. I have the honour to be many years known to his Grace,

and I believe him ready to do a thing of good nature as well as justice, and for yourself I am confident that you will be ready to give me this mark of your favor, having received so many instances of it in former times.

I beg you will excuse the trouble I give you, and believe me to be with great respect,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

JONATH. SWIFT.

*To the Honourable*

*Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart.,*

*At his House in the Pell Mell,*

*London.*

*Note.*—The pamphlet to which this letter has reference, was Swift's famous "Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufactures," a piece which, while it drew upon the publisher the bitter vengeance of the government, served to establish the Dean's popularity among his countrymen. It may be observed that the tone and style of this letter do not show that degree of intimacy with Sir Thos. Hanmer, of which Swift has spoken in his journal to Stella. However, this application was probably of service to him; for when the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, returned to Dublin, he allowed the prosecution to drop. The tyrannical jealousy with which England, in those days, checked every effort and smothered every murmur of the sister kingdom, was strongly exemplified in the proceedings to which this little pamphlet gave occasion. Nor could the impolicy of persecution be more clearly evinced: the virulence of the

prosecutors raised Swift to that degree of influence over the public mind in Ireland, which enabled him, three years afterwards, to shake the very frame of the government by his "Drapier's Letters."

The answer, which I have here inserted, from Sir T. Hanmer, is extracted from the published correspondence of Dr. Swift.

FROM SIR THOMAS HANMER TO DR. SWIFT.

*Mildenhall, Oct. 22, 1720.*

SIR,

I received the favour of a letter from you about ten days since, at which time the Duke of Grafton was at London: but as he was soon expected in the country, and is now actually returned, I thought it best, rather than write, to wait for an opportunity of speaking to him; and yesterday I went over to his house, on purpose to obey your commands. I found he was not a stranger to the subject of my errand; for he had all the particulars of the story very perfect, and told me, my Lord Arran had spoke to him concerning it. I added my solicitations, backed with the reasons with which you had furnished me; and he was so kind as to promise, he would by this post write to the Chief Justice; how explicitly or how pressingly I cannot say, because men in high posts are afraid of being positive in their answers; but I hope it will be in such a manner as will be effectual.

If the thing is done, it will be best that the means should be a secret by which it is brought about ; and for this reason you will excuse me, if I avoid putting my name to the outside of my letter, lest it should excite the curiosity of the post-office. If this affair ends to your satisfaction, I am glad it has proved to me a cause of hearing from you, and an occasion of assuring you that I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

THO. HANMER.

FROM AN ENGLISH TRAVELLER AT ROME TO  
HIS FATHER.

SIR,

I have by former letters given you a particular account of my travels to y<sup>e</sup> time of my departure from Venice. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of March the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. — & I arrived here : & y<sup>e</sup> Pope's death gave us an opportunity to see all y<sup>e</sup> ceremonies w<sup>ch</sup> are used on such solemn occasions. I have been careful in observing them ; and have digested them into method, in order to entertain such of my friends as I shall find curious on return from my travels. I have also taken some pains to be exact in my accounts of y<sup>e</sup> curiosities with w<sup>ch</sup> this city abounds, and I hope I shall have time enough to compleat my observations : for

since y<sup>e</sup> time of y<sup>e</sup> new Pontiff's coronation is so near at hand, I am resolved to embrace y<sup>e</sup> opportunity of observing whatever may be remarkable in that solemnity.

After my arrival here I received your letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> of Feb<sup>r</sup>, by which you reminded me of your commands at my departure, to avoid conversing with the Pretender, or any of his dependants. I must own, that notwithstanding my inbred dislike to his pretensions, and my confirmed aversion for his profession, I often found my curiosity inclining me to be so far acquainted with his person & character, that I might be able to say, from my own knowlege, what sort of man he is, who has made and daily makes so great a noise in England; and I have sometimes fancied that even you yourselfe, Sir, would not be satisfied with me, if (after staying so long in Rome) I were not able to give you a perticular account of him. However my regard to your special commands was always an over-balance to my curiosity, untill perfect chance ordain'd the contrary. I beg leave to assure you that this is literally true, and least you should receive misinformation on this point from any other hand, I choose to give you a particular account how it happened, and shall lay nothing before you in the relation but undisguis'd truth.

About a month ago Mr. —— and I being in search of some of the antiquities of this place, we became acquainted with an English gentleman, very knowing in this kind of learning, and who proved of great use to us ; his name is D<sup>r</sup>. Cooper, a priest of the church of England, whom we did not expect to be of the Pretender's retinue, but took him to be a curious traveller, which opinion created in me a great liking for his conversation. On Easter eve he made us the compliment, that as he supposed us bred in the profession of the said church, he thought it incumbent on him to invite us to divine service (next day being Easter Sunday). Such language at Rome appeared to me a jest ; I stared at the doctor, who added that the Pretender (whom he called King) had prevailed with the late Pope to grant licence for having divine service, according to the rules of the church of England, performed in his palace, for the benefit of the protestant gentlemen of his suite, his domesticks and travellers ; and that one D<sup>r</sup>. Berkely and himself were appointed for the discharge of this duty, and that prayers were read as orderly here as at London. I should have remained of St. Thomas's belief, had I not been a witness that this is matter of fact, and as such have noted it down amongst the greatest wonders of Rome. This was the occasion of my first

entrance into the Pretender's house. I became familiar with both the doctors, who are sensible well-bred men. I put several questions to them about the Pretender, and if credit can be given them, they assure me he is an upright moral man, very far from any sort of bigotry, and most averse to disputes and distinctions of religion, whereof not a word is admitted in his family. They described him in his person very much to the resemblance of King Charles y<sup>e</sup> 2, to which they say he approaches more & more every day, with a great application to business, and a head well turned that way, having only some clerks, to whom he dictates such letters as he does not write with his own hand.

In some days after my friend and I went to take the evening air in that stately park called Villa Ludovici; there we met on a sudden, face to face, with the Pretender, his princess, and court. We were so very close, before we understood who they were, that we could not retreat with decency; common civility obliged us to stand sidewise in the alley, as others did, to let them pass by.

The Pretender was easily distinguished by his star and garter, as well as by an air of greatness, which discovered majesty superior to the rest. I felt in that instant of his approach a strange convulsion



in body and mind, such as I never was sensible of before ; whether aversion, awe, or respect occasioned it, I cannot tell. I remarked his eyes fixed on me, which I confess I could not bear ; I was perfectly stunned, and not aware of myself, when pursuant to what the standers-by did, I made him a salute ; he returned it with a smile, which changed the sedateness of his first aspect into a very graceful countenance. As he passed by I observed him to be a well-sized, clean-limbed man. I had but one glimpse of the princess, which left me a great desire of seeing her again ; however, my friend and I turned off into another alley, to reason at leisure on our several observations ; there we met Dr. Cooper, and after making some turns with him, the same company came again in our way. I was grown somewhat bolder, and resolved to let them pass as before, in order to take a full view of the princess. She is of a middling stature, well-shaped, and has lovely features ; wit, vivacity, and mildness of temper are painted in her looks. When they came up to us, the Pretender stood and spoke a word to the doctor, then looking at us he asked him whether we were English gentlemen ; he asked us how long we had been in town, & whether we had any acquaintance in it ; then told us he had a house where English gentlemen would be

very welcome. The Princess, who stood by, addressing to the Doctor in the prettiest English I think I ever heard, said, Pray, Doctor, if these gentlemen be lovers of musick, invite them to my concert tonight ; I charge you with it. Which she accompany'd with a salute, and a smile in the most gracious manner. It was a very hard task, S<sup>r</sup>, to recede from the honor of such an invitation given by a Princess who, altho' married to the Pretender, deserves so much respect in regard to her person, her name, and family. However we argued the case with y<sup>e</sup> Doctor, and represented the strict orders we had to the contrary ; he reply'd there could be no prohibition to a traveller against musick, even at the ceremonies of the Roman catholick church, that if we miss'd this occasion of seeing this assembly of the Roman nobility, we might not recover it whilst we stay'd in Rome ; and that it became persons of our age & degree to act always the part of gentlemen without regard to party humours. These arguments were more forcible than ours ; so we went, and saw a bright assembly of the prime Roman nobility ; the concert composed of the best musicians of Rome ; a plentiful & orderly collation served : but the courteous and affable manner of our reception was more taking than all the rest. We had a general invitation given us whilst we stay'd in town,

and were desired to use that palace as our own. Hence we were indispensably obliged to make a visit next day, in order to return thanks for so many civilities received : those are things due to a Turk.

We were admitted without ceremony : the Pretender entertained us on the subject of our families as knowingly as if he had been all his life in England. He told me some passages of my grandfather, and of his being a constant follower of King Charles ; and added that, If you, sir, had been of age when your father was alive to have learned his principles, there had been little danger of your taking party against the rights of a Stuart. He then observed how far the prejudices of education, and wrong notion of infancy, are apt to carry people from the paths of their ancestors. He discoursed as pertinently on several of our neighbouring families as I could do ; upon which I told him I was surprised at his so perfect knowledge of our families in England. His answer was, that from his infancy he had made it his business to acquire the knowledge of the laws, customs, and families of his country ; so as he might not be reputed a stranger, when the Almighty pleased to call him thither. These, and the like discourses, held untill word was brought that dinner was served. We endeavoured all we could to withdraw ; but

there was no possibility for it, after he had made us this compliment, "I assure you, gentlemen, I shall never be for constraining any man's inclinations: however, our grandfathers, who were worthy people, dined often together, and I hope there can be no fault found that we do the same." There is every day a regular table of ten or twelve covers well served, unto which some of the qualified persons of his court, or travellers, are invited. It is supplied with English & French cookery, French & Italian wines; but I took notice that y<sup>e</sup> Pretender eat only of the English dishes, and made his dinner of roast beef, and what we call Devonshire pye: he also prefers our March beer, which he has from Leghorn, to the best wines. At the desert he drinks his glass of Champagne very heartily; and, to do him justice, he is as free and cheerfull at his table as any man I know. He spoke much in favour of our English ladies, and said he was perswaded he had not many enemies amongst them: then he carried a health to them. The Princess, with a smiling countenance, took up the matter, and said, "I think then, sir, it would be just that I drink to the Cavaliers." Some time after, the Pretender begun a health to the prosperity of all friends in England, which he addressed to me. I took the freedom to reply, that

as I presumed he meant his own friends, he would not take it ill that I meant mine. I assure you, sir, said he, that the friends you mean can have no great share of prosperity till they become mine ; therefore here's prosperity to yours & mine. After we had eat and drank very heartily, the Princess told us we must go to see her son ; which could not be refused. He is really a fine, promising child ; and is attended by English women, mostly Protestants, which the Princess observed to us, saying, that as she believed he was to live and die amongst Protestants, she thought fit to have him bred up by their hands ; and that in the country where she was born, there was no other distinction but that of honesty and dishonesty. These women, and particularly two Londoners, kept such a racket about us to make us kiss the young Pretender's hand, that to get clear of them as soon as we could, we were forced to comply. The Princess laugh't very heartily, and told us she did not question but the day would come that we should not be sorry to have made so early an acquaintance with her son. I thought myself under a necessity of making her the compliment that, being her's, he could not miss being good and happy.

On the next day we went, as commonly the English gentlemen here do, to the Pretender's house for

news, he told us, that there was no great prospect of amendment in the affairs of England; that the secret committee, & several other honest men, were taking abundance of pains to find out the cause of the nation's destruction; which knowledge, when attained to, would avail only to give the more concern to the publick, without procuring relief; for that the authors would find means to be above the reach of the common course of justice. He bemoaned the misfortune of England groaning under a load of debts, and severest hardships, contracted and imposed to support foreign interests: he lamented the ill-treatment, and disregard of the ancient nobility, and said, It gave him great trouble to see the interests of the nation abandoned to the direction of a new set of people, who must at any rate enrich themselves by the spoil of their country. Some may imagine, continued he, that these calamities are not displeasing to me, because they may in some measure turn to my advantage. I renounce all such unworthy thoughts: the love of my country is the first principle of my worldly wishes: and my heart bleeds to see so brave & honest a people distressed and misled by a few wicked men, and plunged into miseries almost irretrievable. Thereupon he rose briskly from his chair, and expressed his concern with fire in his eyes. I

could not disavow much of what he said : yet I own I was piqued at it ; for very often compassionate terms from the mouth of an adverse party are grating. It appeared so to me on this occasion : therefore I replied, “ It is true, sir, that our affairs in England lye at present under many hardships by the South-sea mismanagement : but it is a constant maxim with us Protestants to undergo a great deal for the security of our religion, which we could not depend upon under a Romish government.” I know, sir, replied he, this is the argument some, who perhaps have but a very slight share of religion, do make use of, in order to delude the honest well-meaning people who have most of it. I assure you these latter and I should agree very well, & be happy together :— Then addressing to an old English gentleman of the company, he said, I have been told by several of the most eminent prelates of the Church of Rome, particularly my friend the late Archbishop of Cambray, that it should never be my business to study how to be an Apostle, but how to become a good King to all my people without distinction : which shall be found true, if ever it please God to restore me. I have given my word in my declarations to refer the securities requisite in such points to the persons themselves that are most concerned therein ; and I have

never given any person reason to doubt but I will maintain my promises to the full. I can boldly say that none can with justice reproach me with failing in the least point of honor, which has, and always shall be dearer to me than any crown or my very life.

It was urged to him that the Roman Catholick clergy, the jesuits and friers, are accused of being apt to start disputes to come by their ends, and of a dangerous encroaching temper.

He answered, he had sufficient warnings before him from the troubles in which his father had been involved by faithless and evil counsellors; that he was entirely of opinion, that all clergymen not authorized by statutes of a nation ought to be confined to the bare duties of their profession, and that if any of them should be found intermeddling with publick concerns, or creating disputes, to the prejudice of the good understanding that ought to be cherished between the king and his subjects, it was his opinion they ought to be removed out of the way of doing mischief; he averred this should constantly be his maxim.

I thought it full time to take leave, and break off the conversation, as I perceive it is to finish this long letter. I own I am not sorry to have contented



so far my curiosity, and that were he not the pretender, I should like the man very well. We should truly pass much of our time in dulness, had we not the diversions of his house, but I give you my word I will enter no more upon arguments of this kind with him, for he has too much wit and learning for me; besides that, he speaks with such an air of sincerity, that I am apprehensive I should become half a Jacobite if I continued following these discouragements any longer.

I crave the favour of your blessing, and remain with all dutiful respect, &c.

*Note.*—It appears to me to be more than doubtful whether this be a genuine letter from a travelling young gentleman. It bears strong indications of a Jacobite contrivance to represent the Pretender in the most favourable light, and to allay the fears and jealousies of the high church party in England. It must have been written at the moment when this country had been thrown into great confusion & discontent by the effects of the South Sea bubbles; I am inclined to believe that this letter was circulated among the Tory gentlemen as one of the preliminaries to the attempt which was then contemplated of raising the standard of the Stuarts. Though Sir T. Hanmer had shown himself, in the close of Queen Anne's reign, to be a sincere friend to the Protestant succession, yet it is probable that the neglect with which he had been treated by the Hanoverian Government, and his intimacy with Ormonde, and several of the Jacobite Tories, might have given this party some hope of gaining his acquiescence in their views.

The date assumed in this letter, may be fixed in the spring of

1721. The writer mentions his having arrived at Rome on March 20th, just at the time of the Pope's death. Now Clement XI. died on the 19th of that month. The "Conspiracy," on which a Committee of the House of Commons sat and made their report, March 1st, 1723, was actively at work in the beginning of the preceding year. (See the evidence on Layer's Trial). The first arrests of Kelly, Heynoe, &c. were made in May 1722, and that of Atterbury in the August following.

FROM ROGER NORTH.

*Rougham, 17 June, 1722.*

SIR,

Upon my returne from Suffolk, w<sup>ch</sup> was late last night, I found y<sup>r</sup> most oblidging letter, for the very great favour of w<sup>ch</sup> I return many thancks, and however this may seem no better then an appendix to the trouble I gave you by y<sup>e</sup> hand of Mr. Price, I cannot forbear my further acknowledgem<sup>t</sup> as well for y<sup>e</sup> disposition you were pleas'd to express (in case y<sup>e</sup> subject had not been anticipated) to have gratify'd him, but also for y<sup>r</sup> indulging my appearing to you in such a request: all must know that in affairs of that nature, you could not but make the best choice, and that nothing was decent to be offred to you, but a reasonable information. However friendship & good-will to Mr. Price tempted me to exceed.

I cannot but agree in y<sup>r</sup> character of y<sup>e</sup> age, having a dayly confirmation that knavery hath contracted

a firme allyance with impudence, and now even among common men is openly profess'd as a Vertue, and nothing so despicable as integrity of mind and manners; the barriere of shame is utterly lost, and at every instance observable they doe but sneer, & (as they say) laugh in their sleeves. If all this were a novelty in the world, and were not to be found in all y<sup>e</sup> history of old Ruin, I should almost repine at living in such a time, as for falling into (what our countrymen call) an ill Dent. But y<sup>e</sup> same Historys give us the best and worst of reasons for Patience, Necessity, w<sup>ch</sup> may be recomended to those that are posted in great roads & highways, whose provocations must be great, unless y<sup>e</sup> Bandera carry's for Motto, Viderit utilitas.

Supposing you will not dislike an account of anything seen, w<sup>ch</sup> is not of common observation, I will acquaint you with what I saw of a parhelion. It was about y<sup>e</sup> middle of Aprill, between 10 & 11 morn., the sun for y<sup>e</sup> most part shining, and the skye aloft hazey: there was a great circle appeared coloured as a Rainbow, but not so strong, w<sup>ch</sup> had y<sup>e</sup> zenith for a centre, and y<sup>e</sup> sun in y<sup>e</sup> perimeter. There was another like circle, w<sup>ch</sup> had y<sup>e</sup> sun for its centre, and y<sup>e</sup> radius as a common halo. When this circle cros't the former, there appeared two very

strong and lively parhelia, but the halo carried the grain of them tinted with colours. This phenomenon lasted, off and on, for near  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ho. Sometimes the hazyness went quite off, and then there was no signe of y<sup>e</sup> circlings, and when, as here and there, sometimes it came on, the circlings revived, weaker and stronger, as the hazyness was more or less gross. There were common clouds passing, but those all seemed to come under all this meteor: there was nothing in y<sup>e</sup> manner of y<sup>e</sup> skye, but what is often seen without any such consequences, and one would have thought that the skye itself had such a propertye, that all y<sup>e</sup> vapours y<sup>t</sup> come in place should take a colour. What ever may be sayd (as the physicall gentlemen are apt to say somewhat on all occasions) of the halo circle, where the tinct is at equall distance from y<sup>e</sup> sun, and may arise from some caus, not unlike that of the rainbow, I am sure it cannot extend to that circle that had y<sup>e</sup> zenith in its centre; and if ignorance may create wonder, I take it to be the most surprizing incident of y<sup>e</sup> kind that ever was, and (setting y<sup>e</sup> art of words aside) most unaccountable: this may engage you to consult y<sup>e</sup> authors that write of meteors, where you will find many of this rank described, but none (saving y<sup>e</sup> said art) understood, or sensibly explained.

It is a strange acc<sup>nt</sup>, that whereas it is naturale to lay a foundation upon earth, where men live and may observe nearly, and build upwards towards y<sup>e</sup> remote sensibles, now y<sup>e</sup> process is inverted, and wee make sure of y<sup>e</sup> skyes, and from thence argue probabilitys here below, whereas one would think wee should take our certaintys here, and from thence argue probabilitys aloft. In all things els, what is nearest us is best understood, but it seems wee have no analogys here ; but as in fashions, far fetcht and dear bought, carrys it. And non sequiturs here are puft away as froth : but aloft, every ferè et quàm proximè carrys it. And indeed it is a saucy thing to dispute y<sup>e</sup> laws, or rather y<sup>e</sup> authority, of Sol, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, and set up quantum, impuls, & y<sup>e</sup> consequences in opposition to them, as if there were no other vires, influences, potestates, appetitiones, aversiones, abhorrentiæ, or tendentiæ sive determinationes, solid lumen, radii substantiales heterogeneos, coloratos, and abundance of other specifick entitys in nature innumerable. I am cast upon this reflection by an acc<sup>t</sup> I had here of a wind, w<sup>ch</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> description of y<sup>e</sup> folks here, might be stiled from the whirle, for it carryd up hens and chickens some space, tore trees, beat down y<sup>e</sup> smoak, & so went off with a spout of hail & rain. But take it to be a comon whirlwind, shall it not mor-

tife all our celestiaall philosophers, that no one of them can give so much as a gross account of it, reconciliable to any notion of mechanicall powers. I know y<sup>e</sup> track of expression, as vapours, exhalation, rarefaction, vortication, spirality, & y<sup>e</sup> like, but I know not clearly what any of it means, tending to y<sup>e</sup> purpose sought.

By this excursion you will believ that I take y<sup>r</sup> time to pass as lightly as my owne. I have much engagem<sup>t</sup>, and but little to doe, and that of small consequence, falling much below y<sup>r</sup> most intended remissions. You may reasonably have much upon y<sup>r</sup> spirits, and that improving, for when events become formidable, thinking is upon the tenters, and as in such case it is a piece of good nature to snatch a man away from himself, so perhaps this harmeless importunity, for so all is that may be layd aside at liberty, may be more excusable, y<sup>r</sup> acceptance whereof accordingly will farther oblidg, S<sup>r</sup>,

Y<sup>r</sup> most faithfull humble Servant,

Ro<sup>t</sup> NORTH.

FROM LORD COWPER.

3 Mar. 172<sup>5</sup><sub>5</sub>

S<sup>r</sup>,

Though I am well assur'd your justice will not permit you to beleive anything criminal of any one

without y<sup>e</sup> least proof, yet I beg leave to send you the paper herewith inclosed, y<sup>t</sup> you may be sure Layer's hearsay is utterly false as to my particular (as I beleiv it is throughout). I hope you'll pardon my desire to stand perfectly right in an opinion I highly value, & w<sup>ch</sup> is of so great weight in y<sup>e</sup> House of Comons & y<sup>e</sup> whole kingdom. I beleive 'twill be fit to publish somthing of the same nature, when y<sup>e</sup> Report comes to be printed. 'Tis submitted to you to make what use of this you see proper.

I am, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most faithfull

& most humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

COWPER.

*Note.*—Our readers will recollect that when Layer was arrested and examined touching the Jacobite conspiracy in which he was employed as an agent in England, he endeavoured to implicate Lord Cowper as one of the persons engaged in the plot.

FROM THE REV. WILLIAM BROOME.

S<sup>r</sup>,

You see it is dang'rous to be a person of candour. It draws trouble upon you, from w<sup>ch</sup> men of less Humanity and more pride are exempt. It is this y<sup>t</sup> occasions you a second piece of Poetry. Surely a desire to please men of worth proceeds from a better

principle than vanity. If it does not, I feel I have occasion for more humility than has fal'n to my share to withstand it. I confess y<sup>e</sup> crime, and am very proud to have pleas'd S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer. Some men are oblig'd to keep y<sup>e</sup> world at a distance to preserve themselves from contempt. If they suffer others to close with them, they immediately discover their weakness: I have therefore always judg'd a condescending nature to be a sign of a sound head and an honest heart; & I am certain I am not mistaken in this rule when I now apply it. S<sup>r</sup>, I should be wanting to my own satisfaction, if I should not wait upon you, I will search for an opportunity to gratify it: I am too proud not to desire to have y<sup>e</sup> honour of being,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most obedient and most

Humble servant,

WILLIAM BROOME.

*Stuston, July 17<sup>th</sup>, 1725.*

*Note.*—I am afraid that the poem, which accompanied this letter, must have been Broome's "Epistle to Fenton," which was published in 1726. I say "afraid," because the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Poet lays on his flattery with no sparing brush, in these verses,—

"Unhallow'd feet o'er awful Tully tread,  
And Hyde and Plato join the vulgar dead:  
And all the glorious aims that can employ  
The souls of mortals, must with *Hanmer* die."

I have large extracts, in Broome's hand-writing, from his portion



of the *Odyssey*, and from his poem on the War in Flanders, which he had probably sent to Sir Thomas for approbation and patronage. With these is a memorandum of the respective shares borne by Pope, Fenton, and Broome in the translation of the *Odyssey*, which corresponds with the statements already published.

FROM DR. DELANY.

*Delrille, March 25<sup>a</sup>, 1731.*

S<sup>r</sup>,

If y<sup>r</sup> humanity and the goodness of y<sup>r</sup> nature did not entitle every one to y<sup>r</sup> regard who was interested in the behalf of either, I shou'd be greatly at a loss how to introduce a request to you in favour of my friend Mrs. Barber; but when I have this support, and my friend has every claim to y<sup>r</sup> protection, w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>r</sup> vertue cou'd wish in a stranger, I make no scruple to begg it for her. Possibly you may have seen some of her poetick performances, if you have, give me leave to assure you they constitute her least merit: if you have not, allow me to inform you that many of them are the most finish'd I ever yet saw or heard of from any of her sex; all of them founded upon good sense, and friendly to vertue; and some animated with a true spirit of piety, & finely fitted to inspire it: and when I have said this, I own I consider this recomendation not so much in the light

of a trouble given you, as of a tribute paid to you.—  
If the wishes of all the friends to vertue and religion  
cou'd prevail, the care of y<sup>r</sup> country in the highest  
offices of honour wou'd employ all those talents with  
which God hath bless'd you; whilst that felicitie is  
deferr'd, such offices as I have here presum'd to re-  
commend, seem to me in the next degree of dignity.  
This, S<sup>r</sup>, is my apology; I address it to you in the  
sincerity of my heart, and am with perfect esteem  
y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

PAT. DELANY.

FROM MR. DANIEL PULTENEY.

SIR,

I came from Tunbridge last night, and am glad  
to hear at your house that you are now in Suffolk,  
because I hope the gentlemen of that county will  
prevail with you to represent them again in Parlia-  
ment. I am sensible of the objections you may  
have, but assure myself you will likewise consider how  
much it will be desired by all who wish well to the  
publick: my cousin whom I left at Tunbridge hopes  
you will reckon him in that number, as I do, that you

will excuse my taking this liberty. I am with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

*S<sup>t</sup> James's, July  
y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>, 1731.*

D. PULTENEY.

*Note.*—Of Daniel Pulteney, who was a cousin of the celebrated Wm. Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath), Tindal says, “He was at this time (1728) in high credit for his great knowledge of public business and foreign transactions. He was a man of vast application and uncommon talents. He was a cold, but weighty speaker; and though other members in the opposition had brighter parts, none of them had equal abilities.”

It is pretty evident that the present letter was an indirect invitation to Hanmer to join in the storm of opposition which Pulteney was preparing to direct against Walpole.

FROM DR. DELANY.

*London, Dec<sup>r</sup>. 23 (1731).*

S<sup>r</sup>,

I write this with some hopes of conveying Mr. Pope's epistle to L<sup>d</sup>. Burlington with it, for tho' you are so quickly to see it here, yet I can't deny myself the pleasure of endeavouring to contribute to y<sup>e</sup> entertainment of one of your agreeable evenings, tho' I cannot share it. There is a general outcry ag<sup>st</sup> that

part of the poem w<sup>ch</sup> is thought an abuse on y<sup>e</sup> D. of Chandois—other parts are quarrelld with as obscure & unharmonious ; and I am told there is an advertisement that promises a publication of Mr. Pope's Epistle versified : how just these censures are you will best judge—nor shall I pretend to inform you—One thing I regret with all my heart, that Mr. Pope was not acquainted with Mildenhall, because I am perswaded the united elegance & simplicity of y<sup>r</sup> gardens, had supplyd him with a better standard of true taste than any he has yet met with ; & methinks a just and proper praise of taste where it is, had been the best satyr on the want of it. I am surprized Mr. Pope is not weary of making enemies : I have myself gone too giddily into the folly of that conduct, & my natural openness & vehemence is even yet too apt to carry me too far where I am warm'd ; otherwise as I have no pleasure in abuse, but a sincere joy in thinking & speaking well & warmly of everything that's valuable, I trust in God I shall never create one unnecessary enemy.

I cannot reflect upon my natural warmth without reflecting at the same time with concern y<sup>t</sup> I may have indulg'd it improperly in some of my disputes with you : if I have, I beseech you to pardon it for the sake of that sincerity of esteem that caused it :

had y<sup>r</sup> opinion been of less weight with me, it had moved me less.

I begg you'll make my compliments round the library table where I reckon this will find you. I am so deep in my Lady Hanmer's debt that I count I must continue so—there's no attempting to return favours w<sup>ch</sup> we can never acknowledge as we ought. I wish you both all the good wishes of the season, & all y<sup>r</sup> own hearts can wish besides, and am with great gratitude & esteem y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> &

most obliged humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

PAT. DELANY.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

*August 26<sup>a</sup>, 1732.*

I RECEIVED, Sir, yesterday the favour of your most obliging letter, which I do assure you was a great satisfaction to me, because I allways believe what you say, and what is in that letter I value myself upon. These are two things that *now* I hardly know who besides I cou'd say it to,—and am sure you know I wou'd not, without thinking it. I hope you have had your health ever since I saw you, and will have it for a very long time to come, and that

this winter we shall often meet ; for I am, with a true regard, your sincere and most humble servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

FROM DR. CONYERS MIDDLETON.

SIR,

I esteem it a very great honour to be allowed and even commanded to use y<sup>e</sup> same liberty w<sup>th</sup> you by letter, w<sup>ch</sup> had given me so much pleasure in person, of 'conversing w<sup>th</sup> you still at this distance, and of testifying more especially at this time my most sincere and gratefull acknowledgement of y<sup>e</sup> late generous reception and uncommon marks of friendship w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> you were pleased to honour me in Town.

As to my Remarks, they have been receiv'd here, as well as I could wish, nor have given any new or particular offence, that I hear of, but to such onely as dislike y<sup>e</sup> whole. Dr. Morgan, our Vicechancellor, w<sup>th</sup> several more of y<sup>e</sup> Heads, likes them very well, and is much my friend ; so y<sup>t</sup> whatever storms may blow up hereafter, I am in Port, at least for his reign. I am very sensible, S<sup>r</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> they have given y<sup>e</sup> less disgust, for y<sup>e</sup> great patience you had in suffering them to be read to you and y<sup>e</sup> corrections they underwent by your authority and direction : this

I shall always reflect upon as a singular proof of your great humanity as well as great judgement, and am sorry onely, y<sup>t</sup> I had not so kind and so able a monitor to resort to on former occasions, to have made my other Pieces more usefull to y<sup>e</sup> Publick, and less hurtfull to myself: but tho' I cannot recall what is past, yet I shall learn at least from y<sup>e</sup> experience of your advice how to weigh with more caution and prudence whatever may come abroad from me for y<sup>e</sup> future.

You see, S<sup>r</sup>, with what confidence your great kindness has taught me to treat you, when I dare venture to entertain you w<sup>th</sup> such trifles about myself, but if you can bear y<sup>e</sup> impertinence of so trifling a correspondence, I shall not fail to give you part of whatever this place affords most considerable, and shall be industrious to pick up every thing worth your notice, for y<sup>e</sup> opportunity it will give me of signifying to yourself, what it will be my pride to signify to every body else, how much I am bound in honour and duty to approve myself on all occasions, with y<sup>e</sup> utmost respect, Sir,

Your most obliged and

Most devoted servant,

CONYERS MIDDLETON.

*Camb. June 7th, 1733.*

FROM THO<sup>s</sup>. CARTE.S<sup>r</sup>,

Though I have not the honour to be known to you any farther than the edition I made of *Thuanus* a few years ago, & my late History of the first Duke of Ormonde's Life & Times have made me known by character to those who are strangers to my person, this relating to a publick work intended for the service of our Country, I take the liberty of sending you one of my Accounts of the Subscription now on foot for the charges of an history of England & of the method I propose to take in the work.

The vast expence of procuring the infinite number & variety of materials, & the proper Assistants & Amanuenses (who all must be men of Letters & versed in Records) requisite for such a work, renders it necessary to raise a fund sufficient for that purpose, lest a work which could never be undertaken without a reasonable assurance of being supported therein, should stop in the midst for want of ability to defray the expence. It was impossible to make an exact calculation of this expence; & to prevent objections, it is provided that the money subscribed shall be paid (as in the Society for Advancement of Learning) to a Treasurer to be chosen by the Contributors



themselves, & not issued out but by order of a Committee of their own appointment, who will take care that no more be called for than is necessary, & will give the Society from time to time an accompt of the proper application of their money, as well as of the progress of the work.

At first I thought impracticable to raise such a fund, yet L<sup>d</sup> Orrery prevailed with me not to engage in any other work till the experiment had been made. His L<sup>d</sup> began it with his own & the Earls of Burlington, Shaftsbury & Egmont's subscription; but being laid up by the Gout for 6 weeks, & as he was getting abroad, being called away suddenly into Ireland, a stop was put to it for some time. The affair being thus left upon me, I was obliged first to draw up, and afterwards to print the inclosed paper, in order to apprise the world of the nature of the design: since which the D. of Rutland, the Lords Arran, Bruce, & Middleton, the Speaker & others have subscribed, & I have assurances from many Gentlemen in the Country (who are at too great a distance to sign the instrument) of their doing the same, so that the Contribution now amounts to about £600 a year, besides which I am put in hopes that £100 a year will be subscribed in the name of the City at the next Common Council, & that about

£150 a year will be subscribed by the Colleges of Oxford.

I undertake the work purely out of publick spirit, for the honour & service of my country ; & in hopes that by an exact & authentick account of our Constitution, Rights, Usages & ancient Institutions, verified by Records, I may be able to set matters in so clear a light as to prevent for the future those disputes & mistakes, into which a slight, indigested & confused notion thereof has often betrayed the world. I shall set about it with all the zeal & application imaginable : but as I am very sensible of the vast labour & difficulties of the undertaking, I know it would only serve to ruin my health, if I be not enabled to procure those Assistants, which are necessary to lighten the burthen that else would be too heavy for any man's shoulders to bear. 'Tis therefore I desire to see the Subscription filled before I set to work, & the sooner I know the issue of it the better ; neither my inclinations nor circumstances allowing me to be idle or undetermined in the course of my studies. These reasons have obliged me. to take this method of learning the sentiments of our Nobility & Gentry upon this subject, & as they have put me upon giving you this trouble, I hope they will induce you to pardon it in one, who submitting the

inclosed to your consideration & judgment, is with the greatest esteem & respect,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most humble &

Mr. Ker's at the Golden  
Head in great Newport Street,  
London, *Sept.* 27, 1738.

most obedient servant,

THO. CARTE.

I hope after going through our Records to be able to suggest better methods for digesting & rendring them more useful to the publick than they are at present. There are none so ill kept or so difficult to be consulted as those of the Exchequer, & yet the body of Records there lodged are the usefulest in their nature of any, to all Gentlemen of family & Estate in England ; especially those Surveys of their Mannours that were constantly taken when those Mannours fell into the hands of the Crown by forfeiture, escheat, for debt, or otherwise ; & which are so particularly drawn, that as there is no avering against a Record, they are an indisputable evidence of those Rights & Mannours, which have by the destruction of writings, Court Rolls &c in the troubles of 1641, been in a great degree lost throughout the Kingdom. No Officer in the Exchequer (for want of proper Repertories to their Records, which they say were burnt in the fire that some years ago con-

sumed the Paper Buildings in the Temple) knows now where to find those Surveys, not even when in other Records of that Court they are expressly mentioned as being returned & of record there. Nor in all probability will these surveys ever be found, unless upon such a regular search into all our records, as I propose. 'Tis therefore that at the first meeting of the Subscribers, I design to propose to them to give me a note of such records as they shall want, & the names of the Mannours, the surveys whereof will be usefull to clear up or recover their rights, in order (as I meet with them in my searches) to have them transcribed for their use.

Thus shall I endeavour to make the subscription of service to them ; & possibly they may find it in the end to be of less expence than could easily be imagined, however it may appear at present. It is universally allowed, that the materials I have pointed out for an English History, will, when collected, be the best body of materials ever made use of for any work ; & I cannot but think they may be sold by the contributors (with whose money they are to be procured & whose property they will be) for as much as will repay all that they have advanced, & that there will be no want of a purchaser. The late K. of France offered Sir John Cotton (as his son the pre-

sent S<sup>r</sup> Robert Cotton has told me) first £30,000, then £60,000 & a *Carte Blanche* for the Cotton Library, the most valuable part whereof are the Manuscripts relating to English History & Antiquities : & I am persuaded that the present King (who following his great Grandfather's example has lately augmented his Library with those of M. Colbert, M. Baluze, the President de Mesmes & several other MS. collections, & spares for no expence to make it the finest in Europe) would not scruple giving £7,000 for this collection when perfected. Though indeed as the French records relating to England, & the negotiations of French Embassadors here (of which I propose to get so large a collection) will be a very curious & important addition to our own records, I think it more proper that the Parliament of England should purchase & add them to the Cotton Library : & in that case every subscriber will be reimbursed. I would fain hope that those considerable Members of the H. of Commons whose publick spirit has engaged them to subscribe will be of the same opinion ; which I own I can't help endeavouring to infuse into all others, whom after I have gone through all our records in the regular manner I propose, I shall have an opportunity of serving by the discovery of some useful survey or record for the security or improvement of their estates.

FROM THOMAS COOKE.

SIR,

Having compleated the ten volumes of my edition and translation of Plautus's Comedys, (and at a vast expence of time and trouble) I am resolved to pay a public tribute of respect to so many persons for whose characters I have a true and great regard, and without the usual views of addresses of that kind, being determined to admit of no return in whatever manner offered: all that I intreat is, that those persons will be so kind, as promoters of the Work towards embellishing it, to favour me with their subscriptions for a set of Copperplates for each respective volume; for which I have agreed with an eminent Engraver, for two Guineas a sett: what I propose by this method is, to defray the expences of my Copperplates, and at the same time to indulge the pleasure, which will be a real one to me, of paying a mark of respect to ten persons of great worth. The Earl of Godolphin, who has been a great promoter of this Work, Lord Petre, who, tho a Papist, is a young nobleman of fine taste and learning; Lord Trevor, the good Bishop of Worcester, Sir Nathaniel Curzon, my Friend Sir Thomas Webster, and Mr. Nicholas Herbert, have subscribed for a set

of Copperplates each : and I beg leave to assure you that it will give me a singular pleasure to raise a monument of my respect to your Character, in a Dedication before a volume of an edition and translation of what I esteem one of the finest authors of antiquity : and I make this request to you the more cheerfully, as I scorn the expectation of any future advantage from it, the alteration in my circumstances within these two years, setting me above it, which came by an accession of fortune to my wife. I have left London entirely, to avoid the interruptions to my studys to which I was too frequently subjected, and am retired to a House and Gardens of my own at South Lambeth, about two Miles south of Lambeth Town, betwixt Vauxhall and Clapham. I have enclosed a List of my Subscribers to the Work, that you may see the number and quality of them ; and I earnestly beg your acceptance of my two last Pieces ; one of which I intended as a Monument of the Friendship that was betwixt poor Lord Chief Baron Reynolds and myself. I have been told that you are about publishing an edition of Shakespeare, from which I propose great Pleasure in my retirement : I have committed several remarks to writing, in my Commonplace book, on that great Genius's writings : of that great Genius

we need a better Edition than we yet have: could I persuade myself that what I have writ on him was worth communicating to you, I would gladly transcribe it from my Commonplace book. I have submitted a Receipt to you for a sett of Copper-plates; and the honour of your subscription on that account, by my servant the bearer, shall be received with an unreserved Respect by,

S<sup>r</sup>, your most obedient, obliged,

And most humble servant,

THOMAS COOKE.

*South Lambeth, May 1, 1740.*

FROM DR. YOUNG.

*Nov. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1742.*

*Wellwyn, Hertfordshire.*

HONOUR'D S<sup>r</sup>,

I have ordered Mr. Dodsley to wait on you with a thing called y<sup>e</sup> *Complaint*, & with y<sup>e</sup> second as soon as printed, w<sup>ch</sup> will be soon. I had S<sup>r</sup>, sent it long before, but for reasons you shall know when I have y<sup>e</sup> honour of waiting on you.

As other parts are to follow, I beg the favour of your general advice. Something of that nature must occur to you, if you are at leisure to read what I send. I can not misunderstand any thing in that



way ; & I may reap great advantage from it. Tho' ever excellently qualified, your late amusements must more peculiarly awaken, & make still more acute your discernment in things of this nature. Pardon S<sup>r</sup> a freedom w<sup>ch</sup> durst not have shew'd so bold a face, was it (not) conscious that it keeps company in my heart with the truest esteem for your signal worth, & y<sup>e</sup> most zealous wishes for y<sup>r</sup> welfare.

I am, Hon<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup>,

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> & faithfull Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

E. YOUNG.

S<sup>r</sup>, I write this in confidence, for I do not own myself the writer of it.

FROM BISHOP BERKELEY TO SIR THOMAS  
HANMER.

*Cloyne, August 21, 1744.*

SIR,

As I am with particular esteem and respect your humble servant, so I heartily wish your success in the use of Tar Water may justify the kind things you say on that subject. But since you are pleased to consult me about your taking it, I shall without further ceremony tell you what I think, how ill soever a Physician's air may become one of my profession. Certainly, if I may conclude from

parallel cases, there is room to entertain good hopes of yours; both giddiness and relaxed fibres having been, to my knowledge, much relieved by tar water. The sooner you take it, so much the better. I could wish you saw it made yourself, and strongly stirred. While it stands to clarify, let it be close covered, and afterwards bottled and well corked. I find it agrees with most stomachs when stirred even five or six minutes, provided it be skimmed before bottling. You may begin with a pint a day, and proceed to a pint and a half or even a quart, as it shall agree with your stomach. And you may take this quantity either in half pint or quarter pint glasses, at proper intervals in the twenty-four hours. It may be drunk indifferently, at any season of the year. It lays under no restraint, nor obliges you to go out of your usual course of diet. Only in general I suppose, light suppers, early hours, and gentle exercise, (so as not to tire) good for all cases. With your tar water, I wish you may take no other medicines. I have had much experience of it, and can honestly say, I never knew it do harm. The ill effects of drugs show themselves soonest on the weakest persons; such are children; and I assure you that my two youngest children (when they were one three, and the other not two years old) took it, as a pre-

servative against the small-pox, constantly for six months together without any inconvenience. Upon the whole, I apprehend no harm and much benefit in your case, and shall be very glad to find my hopes confirmed by a line from your self, which will always be received as a great favour by

Sir, y<sup>r</sup> most obedient and  
most humble servant,

GEORGE CLOYNE.

## EXTRACTS

*From the Private Account-Book of ISABELLA, DUCHESS of  
GRAFTON, from January 1708, to February 1723.*

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It must be confessed, on the authority of the autograph within the cover of this book ("Isabella Grafton is my name"), and of occasional entries in her own handwriting, that caligraphy and orthography were not the prominent excellencies of this noble lady. Good spelling was far from universal in those days among the men of rank, and the sample which is here afforded us by the only child of a noble statesman, and daughter-in-law of King Charles the Second, is not calculated to give us a favourable impression as to the education of ladies of high birth.

Isabella was the sole heiress of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, one of the principal ministers of the merry monarch. In 1682, three years before her father's death, she was married to Henry, the

first Duke of Grafton, who was slain at the storming of Cork, in 1690. The widowed Duchess was at this time only twenty-two years of age; but though she was rich and accounted one of the greatest beauties of the court, she did not marry again till 1698, when she bestowed her hand on the young and handsome Thomas Hanmer, who had but just completed his twenty-first year. The estates of Euston, &c., together with the dignities of Earl and Baron Arlington and Viscount Thetford, descended through Isabella to the offspring of her first marriage, Charles the second Duke of Grafton. By her second marriage she had no issue.

It appears from the Duchess's accounts, as well as those of Sir Thomas Hanmer, that her Grace's allowance of pin-money from Sir Thomas was £500 per annum. She seems to have been a great frequenter of operas and card-parties, expensive in her dress, and apt to lose money at play. The sums paid at the operas and playhouses, and to her chairmen (the latter forming no inconsiderable items), are entered minutely: and, with regard to the former, we find no traces of the hiring of boxes or places for any term: the entrance money appears to have been paid at the door, and this was in 1707-8 half-a-guinea (10*s.* 9*d.*); from 1709 to 1721 it was only

8*s.*, but in the latter year it returned to its original amount. It seems that the Duchess of Grafton visited the playhouses not unfrequently, as there are many entries of presents to the box-keepers of the theatres, and to the most celebrated performers (as Betterton, Cibber, Mrs. Barry, &c.) at their benefits. To these, as well as to Heidegger, Nicolini, and others of the opera-house, her regular present was one guinea (1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*) The London season appears to have begun with November, and to have lasted till the end of June, or even July.

In making extracts from the Duchess's accounts, I have selected such items only as may serve to mark the prices of certain quantities of goods, or the extent of expense in articles of dress, or in presents, &c., together with a few which are subjects of curiosity. The large sums lavished on the servants of houses where persons of rank paid their visits, are shown more fully in the accounts kept by Sir Thomas Hanmer: but the entries of Christenings in the Duchess's book prove that ladies did not escape their share in this sort of self-inflicted taxation.

# EXTRACTS.

		£	s.	d.
1708				
<i>Jan.</i>	The Opera . . . . .	0	10	9
&	To Mrs. Barry . . . . .	1	1	6
<i>Feb.</i>	To Mr. Cibber . . . . .	1	1	6
	To Ben the Chairman . . . . .	13	0	0
	Paid George Payne for his coach-hire to Mile			
	End to be cured of an ague . . . . .	0	5	0
<i>Nov.</i>	To a man for cleaning my teeth . . . . .	0	10	0
&	To Mrs. Lilly for 2 pound Green Tea . . . . .	2	8	0
<i>Dec.</i>	Ben the Chairman, repeatedly			
	For a green embroidered Steinkirk . . . . .	1	1	6
1709				
<i>Feb.</i>	For half a yard black Velvet . . . . .	0	8	6
	Given to Mr. Wilks & Mrs. Oldfield . . . . .	2	3	0
	For one dozen towells making & marking . . . . .	0	2	6
	Two Drams of Silk . . . . .	0	0	3
	To the Opera (frequently,)—each time . . . . .	0	8	0
<i>March.</i>	For a Stinkirk . . . . .	1	12	3
	For stockins . . . . .	1	7	0
<i>May.</i>	To my Lady Harvey's Christening . . . . .	10	15	0
	To my Lady Rebecca Holland's Christening . . . . .	10	15	0
	Paid to Lady Charlotte de Rouse for a black			
	laced scarfe . . . . .	16	0	0
1710				
<i>Jan.</i>	To Lady Jersey's woman for a French			
	Gownde . . . . .	20	0	0
<i>Feb.</i>	For a pair of black silk stockins . . . . .	0	12	0
	For a Baby (?) . . . . .	2	3	0

		£	s.	d.
1710				
<i>March.</i>	To Mrs. Barry's benefit . . . . .	1	1	6
	To Mr. Betterton . . . . .	1	1	6
<i>April.</i>	To Nicholini, Margaritta, Gerarda, & Hydacre . . . . .	4	6	0
	To the Tatler . . . . .	2	3	0
<i>May.</i>	For Mrs. Hammond's Christening . . .	10	15	0
<i>Nov.</i>	For a yard of Cambrick . . . . .	0	10	0
	To Hemmet for cleaning teeth . . . .	0	10	0
	For a black lace hood . . . . .	3	15	3
1711				
<i>Jan.</i>	A broad lace for a Hood . . . . .	3	0	0
	An embroidered Apron . . . . .	2	10	0
	The Cupper . . . . .	1	1	6
<i>Feb.</i>	(Four successive days) Dr. Friend (each day)	2	3	0
<i>Nov.</i>	"Pade for four peaces of Turkey taby" (her Grace's autograph) . . . . .	5	0	0
<i>Dec.</i>	Paid a Frenchwoman at the Montpelier .	2	5	0
	For cutting my hair . . . . .	1	1	6
1712				
<i>Jan.</i>	For a pair of black silk stockings & a pair of black gloves . . . . .	0	18	0
	A pair of cloggs . . . . .	0	8	0
<i>Feb.</i>	For Ermine . . . . .	6	19	9
	To the Toothcleaner . . . . .	0	10	0
	A pair of Sizzars . . . . .	0	2	6
	Paid the Chairmen . . . . .	16	14	0
<i>March.</i>	Given to the Mobb . . . . .	0	2	6
	A pair of Jumps . . . . .	0	15	0
	For Orange Butter * . . . . .	0	6	0
<i>May.</i>	2 yards of Muslin . . . . .	1	4	0
	4½ yards of Muslin . . . . .	2	11	0

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\* This article "orange butter" (?) occurs frequently.



		£	s.	d.
1712				
May.	3½ of Muslin . . . . .	1	6	0
	For an Orange & a Lemon . . . . .	0	1	0
Aug.	To Dr. Mead . . . . .	2	3	0
	To the Haircutter . . . . .	0	10	9
	For two saddle horses to Windsor . . . . .	0	12	0
	For a saddle Horse to Richmond . . . . .	0	3	6
	For cutting Misses hair . . . . .	0	10	9
Sept.	For 4 horses to Richmond . . . . .	1	5	0
	Paid Mrs. Susan & Mrs. Betty for the Play	0	4	0
	Paid for ferrying the coach over at Richmond	0	5	0
	To the Waterman who carryed your Grace	0	3	0
Oct.	To the Frenchwoman for dressing your Grace	1	1	6
	For a chair for her . . . . .	0	1	0
Nov.	For a Hackney Coach for your Grace . . . . .	0	1	0
	To the poor people . . . . .	0	0	8
Dec.	Paid for Point . . . . .	60	0	0
Jan.	Given to a gentleman of my Lord Boling- brook's . . . . .	2	3	0
	A Fann . . . . .	2	10	0
March.	Paid for a Gauze hood . . . . .	0	10	0
May.	To the Duke of Grafton's Cook . . . . .	2	3	0
	To the Mobb . . . . .	0	5	0
	Lost to Sir Thos. Hanmer* at Cards . . . . .	7	10	6
1714				
Jan.	Paid for two quarts of Usquebaugh (!) . . . . .	0	14	0
Feb.	A Scarfe . . . . .	3	10	0
	To the Mobb . . . . .	0	5	0
March.	For putting an Advertisement into the Courant about your Grace's Watch case	0	3	6
	Given to the Mobb . . . . .	0	5	0
April.	To Matt the Postilion for finding the Dia- mond . . . . .	1	1	6

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\* Her husband !

1714		£	s.	d.
<i>April.</i>	For Brandy *	0	1	0
<i>Sept.</i>	To Betty for finding the Diamond Ear-ring	1	1	6
<i>Sept.</i>	For Brandy	0	1	0
	At Euston, Brandy	0	2	0
<i>Nov.</i>	To the Mobb on Queen Elizabeth's birth-day†	0	2	6
<i>Dec.</i>	$\frac{1}{4}$ -lb. Bohea Tea	0	5	0

\* This alarming item makes its first appearance in 1713-14, and recurs, with a fearful growth of frequency, in the following years. Charity would make me hope that this Brandy might be for the Tooth-ache: *but* it is observable that pence to the poor, losses at cards, and casualties in her Grace's jewels, &c., make their appearance about the same time, and multiply with a proportionate rapidity; while Operas and Plays cease to be numbered among the Duchess's expenses.

† *Brand's Observations on Popular Antiquities.* (Ellis's Edition, 4to., 1813), 1st vol. p. 318.

#### QUEEN ELIZABETH'S ACCESSION (17th November).

From a variety of notices scattered in various publications, the anniversary of Q. Elizabeth's Accession appears to have been constantly observed even within the last century; & in many of the Almanacks was noted certainly as late as 1684, & probably considerably later.—In a 'Protestant Memorial for the 17th of November, being the Inauguration day of Q. Elizabeth,' 8vo., London, 1713, is the following passage:—'For a grateful remembrance of 'God's mercy in raising up, continuing, & prospering this most illustrious benefactor of England, *the good Protestants of this nation (those especially of London & Westminster), have annually taken notice* (and not without some degree of decent & orderly solemnity) *of the 17th of November,* being the day on which Her Majesty Q. Eliz. began her happy reign, &c.'—'I say we have now a new motive to this zeal, the preservation of our most gracious Q. Anne being to be added to the

		£.	s.	d.
1715				
<i>Feb.</i>	A white Stinkirk wrought with silver	.	2	3 0
	Do. with gold flowers	.	4	6 0
<i>March.</i>	Three bottles of Epsom Water	.	0	1 6
	To a poor body	.	0	0 6
<i>April.</i>	To ye Bills of Mortality for a year	.	0	10 9
<i>May.</i>	Three dozen Gloves	.	3	4 6
<i>June.</i>	Cutting her Grace's hair	.	0	10 9
<i>July.</i>	Lutestring for a pettycoat	.	4	10 0
<i>Aug.</i>	Chair hire for seven hours	.	0	7 6
1716				
<i>April</i>	For ten flasks of Spa Water	.	0	11 8
	Cupid (?)	.	0	10 0
	Rose (?)	.	0	5 0
<i>July.</i>	To the Mad Captain	.	0	5 0
<i>Sept.</i>	"For a pair of blak silk stoking"	.	0	13 0
<i>Oct.</i>	For 1 lb. of Bohea tea for Mrs. Manly	.	1	0 0
	For a qu <sup>r</sup> . of a lb. of Brazil Snuff	.	0	8 0
<i>Dec.</i>	For a Muff	.	3	4 6
1717				
<i>May.</i>	Given to the Anatomies	.	0	5 0
	For making 2 pettycoats	.	0	4 0
<i>June.</i>	For Mr. Nelson's Works	.	0	12 0
	Dr. Atterbury's Sermons	.	0	6 0
<i>Aug.</i>	For two dozen of gloves	.	2	7 0
	For a pair of shoes	.	0	14 0

vindication of the most gracious Q. Elizabeth."—The figures of the Pope and the Devil were usually burnt on this occasion.—In Q. Anne's time a fresh advantage was taken of this anniversary; & the figure of the Pretender, in addition to those of the Pope & the Devil, was burnt by the Populace. \* \* \* \* \*—With the Society of the Temple, the 17th of November is considered as the grand day of the year. It is yet kept as a holiday at the Exchequers, & at Westminster & Merchant Tailors' Schools."

1717		£	s.	d.
<i>Sept.</i>	For a Horse Lantern . . . . .	0	15	0
	To Dr. Crask . . . . .	2	3	0
	To Dr. Short . . . . .	5	7	6
<i>Nov.</i>	For 6 lbs of Chocolate to send to Sir Wm.			
	Gage . . . . .	1	13	0
	For a Hoop Pettycoat . . . . .	1	1	6
	For Patches . . . . .	0	3	0
<i>Dec.</i>	To a woman who brought French fashions .	1	1	6
	To Master Bunbury to buy an English Virgil	0	6	6
1718				
<i>Jan.</i>	For the Bills of Mortality . . . . .	0	10	6
	To Mrs. Doyves for Tea . . . . .	1	4	0
<i>March.</i>	For a pd. of Bohea tea for Mrs. Bunbury .	1	4	0
	For a pd. of Coffee for Mrs. Ramsay . .	0	6	0
<i>April.</i>	For three speeches against the Army Bill .	0	1	0
	To Welsh Tom's Play . . . . .	1	1	0
	For a bottle of Burgundy for Lady Oglethorpe	0	5	0
<i>May.</i>	To the Mad Captain . . . . .	0	5	0
	For a dozen of Combs . . . . .	0	18	0
<i>June.</i>	For a pair of shammy shoes . . . . .	0	11	0
<i>July.</i>	To the corncutter . . . . .	0	10	6
	Cave's Primitive Christianity . . . . .	0	6	0
	To the poor at the door when her grace took			
	coach to go to Euston . . . . .	0	7	0
	To the Euston & Barnham strowers . . .	1	1	0
	To the ringers of those places . . . .	1	1	0
	To the Fiddlers . . . . .	1	0	0
<i>Sept.</i>	For a pound of Bohea tea for Miss Bunbury	1	1	0
1719.				
<i>Jan.</i>	For Usquebaugh, Snuffbox, & 3 packs of			
	cards . . . . .	1	6	1
	For Pamphletts and snuff . . . . .	0	3	6
<i>March.</i>	For a pound of Tea & Canister . . . .	1	1	0
	To Mr. Barber for Prior's Poems . . .	3	0	0

		£	s.	d.
1719.				
<i>April.</i>	For Dr. Prideaux's Connection of the Testament . . . . .	0	15	0
	For Pamphlettes . . . . .	0	5	0
	The Evening Post . . . . .	0	0	1½
	The Flying Post . . . . .	0	0	1½
<i>May.</i>	Two dozen kid gloves . . . . .	2	8	0
	One lb. of Bohea tea & Canister . . . . .	1	5	0
<i>June.</i>	Lost at Cards this month* . . . . .	17	4	0
<i>July.</i>	For 25 Ells of Holland . . . . .	13	7	9
	For altering 9 Smocks . . . . .	0	4	6
<i>Aug.</i>	For Raddell † . . . . .	0	2	0
	For making 9 smocks . . . . .	0	18	0
<i>Oct.</i>	A pair of Stockings . . . . .	0	12	6
1720.				
<i>Jan.</i>	14 yards of Persian & a quarter, and 1 Nail of Velvet . . . . .	1	7	0
	Six quire of Paper . . . . .	0	3	10
	Nelson's Festivals & Fasts . . . . .	0	5	6
<i>Feb.</i>	For seeing the moving picture (?) . . . . .	0	5	0
	Paid for a quart of Brandy . . . . .	0	1	3
<i>May.</i>	Paid Alice Blake for a Point Head . . . . .	40	0	0
<i>June.</i>	Paid Mrs. Collins for Viper Water . . . . .	0	10	0
<i>Sept.</i>	For one Dr. Taylour & one Nelson . . . . .	0	10	0
1721.				
<i>Jan.</i>	A bottle of Usquebaugh . . . . .	0	7	6

\* The Duchess seems to have been a most unfortunate card-player: the balances in each quarter tell almost always heavily against her; once only she enters a balance of two guineas in her favour.

† This item, which appears frequently after 1711, is, I fear, synonymous with rouge. The coarse red stuff with which farmers mark their sheep, is still called *raddel*.

		£	s.	d.
1721.	A pair of Silk Stockings . . . . .	0	16	0
<i>March.</i>	An Opera . . . . .	0	10	6
<i>May.</i>	14 yards & one-fourth of White Lutestring at 5s. 6d. per yard . . . . .	3	18	4½
	Four pair of thread stockings . . . . .	1	4	0
<i>June.</i>	For five yards of Muslin . . . . .	2	5	0
	To Dr. Friend . . . . .	1	1	0
<i>Sept.</i>	For seven places at the Play at Bury . . . . .	0	17	6
<i>Dec.</i>	A pair of scarlet stockings . . . . .	0	7	6
1722.				
<i>Oct.</i>	A pair of Fur Mittens . . . . .	0	16	0
<i>Dec.</i>	For a collar of Brawn . . . . .	2	6	0

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## APPENDIX.

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SIR THOMAS HANMER, GRANDFATHER OF THE  
SPEAKER, HIS ACCOUNT OF FRANCE IN 1648.

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### THE COUNTRY.

THE country of Ffrance, as it is in this present year (1648), is bounded on the east with Luxembourg, Lorraine, the Ffranche Comté, the Lake of Geneva, Savoy, and Piemont; on the west with the Ocean Sea, and part of Spaine; on the south with the Pirenean Hills, which separate it from Spaine, and part of the Mediterranean Sea; on the north with the Brittish Sea, which divides it from England, and with Fflanders, Arthois and Henault, which are part of the king of Spaine's Low Countreyes, and with the Fforest of Arden. It is scituated betwixt the 15<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> degrees of longitude, and betwixt the 43<sup>rd</sup> and 52<sup>nd</sup> degrees of latitude. It is at least 350 English miles over every way, without comprising Brittany or Provence.\*

By this, Ffrance appeares to bee a very great continent, yet lying upon two principall seas, viz.—the Ocean

\* Here follows an enumeration of the provinces, &c.



and the Mediteranean. It is a country well planted, full of great townes, watered with diverse famous rivers, as the Seine, which falls into the Brittish Sea; the Loire and the Garonne, into the ocean; the Rhosne into the Mediterranean, &c.

Piccardy and Brittany afford abundance of corne and salt. Normandy, corne, pasture, and fruit,—as apples, pearces, walnutts, and cherries, in abundance; and linnen cloth. Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, afford wyne, oyle, olive, silke, excellent fruites, and corne; Lymosin, Auvergne, Berry, Bourbonnois, yeild wyne, cattle, butter, cheese, and corne; and all the other provinces, corne, wyne, fruites, and some cattle; and of these commodities and some others, nature and industry have not only given these countreyes sufficient for their inhabitants, but much also to vent abroad; as, from Normandy and Brittany great quantityes of corne, salt, and linnen clothes, exported to England, Scotland, Ireland, and Spaine; from Gascogne and Guyen much wyne and corne is sent to Spaine, Ireland, England, Scotland, the Low Countreyes, Denmarke, and the Northern Countreyes; from Lyonnois and Burgundy, corne to Geneva, Savoy, and Swisserland; and from Tours, all sorts of silke stufes and tissues, into England, Holland, Swede, Denmarke, and some parts of Germany; so that, by the vent of these and other staple commodities, Ffrance is very full of money—silver and gold,—the pistolles of Spaine flowing in hither for corne and cloth sent into Biskay and Gallicia; and the English Jacobuses, with the coines of Holland, Denmark, Swede, and Germany, for wynes and salt.

The countrey of Ffrance is defective in mynes of gold and silver, and hath a scarcity of some commodities, for they draw in yearly out of England, calfe skynnes, butter, lead, iron, tinne, worsted stockings, fine woollen cloathes, severall sorts of woollen stufes; from Holland and Flan-

ders, fine woollen and linnen clothes and hides ; from Spaine, sakes, espetially Malaca wools, iron, and steele ; from the North East Countreyes, bee wax, cordage, and masts ; and from England, Holland, and Lisbon, all the rich commodities of the East and West Indyees, as pearles, pretious stones, rich colours to dye with, and sugar and all sorts of spices, for the Ffrench trade not much in those remote parts, but are served with those commodities by the above-mentioned nations.

The clymate of Ffrance is universally delicate, wholesome, equall, and temperate, neither exceeding in heate, coldnes, or moisture ; the campagne generally delightfull, embellished with corne feilda, vine-yards, olive-yards, fruit trees, woods, groves, innumerable townes and villages, commonly of white stone, noblemen's houses, and watered with some navigable rivers, but with many pleasant brookes.

The metropolis of Ffrance is Paris, the queene of the European cittyes, seated in the isle of Ffrance, upon the sweet river Seine, which is thither navigable for flat boates of an incredible burthen,—five or six hundred tunne ; other great vessels not coming higher than Rouen, sixty leagues distant from thence by water.

The glory and riches of this citty proceed not soe much from trade, though it be plentifully provided with all merchandises, espetially the most curious and rare, but from the king's ordinary residence there, and, consequently, the confluence of the nobility and gentry, the fixed court of parliament for diverse provinces, the high chancery of the kingdome, treasuries, and severall counsellis and courts of justice, as well as a famous university, and flourishing academyes for instruction in riding the great horse, fencing, dancing, the mathematickes, and all gentile exercises, which draw thither the youth of the nobility and gentry of Greate Brittain, Poland, Swethland, Denmarke, Ger-

many, and of Italy itselfe, whither in our fathers' memo-ryes the Ffrench were accustomed to repair for these accomplishments, which now they excell all others in.

The figure of Paris is almost round, the river passing through the middle thereof, and making a pleasant island. The area in my opinion not so vast as is reported commonly (London covering almost as much ground), but the streetes and piatzaes are soe well disposed, that there is no wast space to bee found. The buildings are generally five or six storyes high, the materialls whyte free-stone, or whyte rough stone, covered with plaister of Paris. The houses well built, the roofes and floores high, the furniture usefull, rich, fashionable, and plentifull, even amongst the ordinary sort of people, but that of the nobility to excesse. Many thousand houses may bee seene built quadranguler, with courts within, stables and coach-houses, fitt to receive persons of the greatest quality.

The miracle of this place is, the populousnes thereof; you shall find six, seaven, or it may bee more families, under a rooffe; which keepes the streetes constantly soe full of people, that it is troublesome passing, espetially in the winter, when y<sup>e</sup> nobility and gentry are there, for, partly by reason of the extreme dirtines of the streetes, most of the towne lying low and on a flatt, and partly by reason of the fashion, almost no gentleman or other person of foure or five hundred pistoles a yeare, but keepes his coach, and two or three lacqueyes, and perhaps a page.

The buildings about this citty have increas'd mervellously within these last twenty yeares, notwithstanding the defenses to the contrary upon great paines, which the present queen regent tooke soe far notice of as to grant out commissions to measure the unlicensed buildings, and to compound with the owners. Some I heare agreed, and a matter of 100,000 sterling was raised; but the poorer sort, animated by the richer, made such tumults and insurrections against

the officers y<sup>t</sup> the further prosecution was and is still delay'd.

The expence of living here is not (as I conceive) soe great as at London: I am certaine much cheaper than at Madrid: all manner of clothing, excepting English cloth, (which is a 5<sup>th</sup> part dearer than in England) being very reasonable, espetially all silke stuffs, wyne, (I mean whyte and clarett) from two pence an English quart, to eight pence; mutton, veale, and beefe at five pence a pound the best; a capon eightene pence or two shillings, but all manner of fish and rabbetts and hares deare; but if the ordinary expence bee by some thought too great, it is made amends for in the extraordinary, it being not the Ffrench fashion to spend anything in tavernes, or unnecessarily.

Ffrance being soe fertile, and almost encompassed w<sup>th</sup> old enemyes, as the English, Spanyards, and the House of Austria; and doubtfull friends, as Lorraine, Savoy and the Swisses, it is necessary that the confines bee well guarded with strong townes, and good garrisons, and the rather because they are not fenced by nature with great hills, except towards Spaine, or vast woods, or marshes, but lye open and are easy of accesse to all enemyes. Towards England, therefore, and Spaine, the port townes of Calais, Bologne, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, Cherbourg, St<sup>e</sup> Malo, Blavet, Brest, and diverse places in Gascony are garrison'd and fortified, but none alla moderna, but Calais, and Havre de Grace, which standing neere the mouth of Seine was lookt upon as a most considerable place by Cardinall Richlieu, who therefore caused the cittadell there to bee made almost impregnable. On the Mediterranean Sea, Narbonne, Marseille, Antibes, and the Isles of St<sup>e</sup> Marguerite, are fortified. Towards Flanders and Artois, they have Montreuil, Amiens, Corbie, St<sup>e</sup> Disier, La Fere, Laon, Dourlans, Peronne, and other good places, besides by late

conquests, Arras, Graveling, Dunkerke, and Courtray. Towards Germany they have Sedan, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and in Lorraine, Nancy and La Mothe. Towards Savoy, by purchase from the last duke, Pignerol. Towards Spaine they have St<sup>t</sup> Jean de Luz, Bayonne, Leucate, and by late conquest, Salsas and Perpignan, and by the revolt of the Catalonians, Barcelona, and other holds in that county of Catalonia. These are the principall places of strength y<sup>t</sup> are frontiers: within the land they have not many good fortifications, but most of the cittyes and burghes have good antient walls and ditches, and castles that have governours and garrisons, but soe small that they awe not the townes, but if there were any feare at home, might soon bee fild up and made of good use.

The greatest townes (after Paris) are Rouen in Normandie, Lyons, Burdeaux, Tholouse, Poitiers, Angers, Tours, Montpellier, Marseille, Orleans, and Dijon.

#### THE PEOPLE.

THE greatest strength and glory of a kingdome is multitude of inhabitants, and herein, I believe, Ffrance is as considerable as any other of the world, for notwithstanding their long warrs with the House of Austria in Germany, Italy, Spaine, and Fflanders, wherein many thousands have been cut off, (the French heate not permitting them to warr cautilously) notwithstanding their constant assistance of Holland with men since their revolt from Spaine, notwithstanding the high and almost innumerable taxations have driven many, espetially artificers, to goe seeke a livelihood, even in Spaine itselfe, amongst their enemies, and notwithstanding the humour of the nation makes many voluntarily delight in travell, and goe serve foreigne states, yet the townes and villages decay not, but the houses are full of people, and the streets swarming with

children, which no man can scarce believe but hee that sees it, who certainly will find the old maxime erroneous that the most northerne countryes are fittest for procreation; whereas, without doubt, an excesse of cold is at least as obnoxious as an excesse of heate; and though most of Europe, and some other parts of the world, have been several tymes overrun with the Hunns, Gothes, and Vandales, northerne nations, yet hee that will consider the vast extent of Norway, Swethland, Pannonia, and Sarmatia or Scythia, which were the countreys from whence they were poured out, will find it no miracle they could issue forth such numbers; but this by the way.

The people, as in most of the European kingdomes, are distinguisht into noble, and not noble. They are only noble that come of a noble race, and under the terme noblesse (the nobility) is understood not only the peerage (to which sense wee strictly confine the word in England,) but all the gentry, whereof some have no titles, but beare either the names of their family, or offices in the state; others are dignified with dutchyes, marquisats, earldomes or countyes, viscountyes, and baronnyes, and yet are not peers of the realme. They who have titles hold not their honours by pattents, relating to the persons, as generally in England, but have their lands erected by the king into dutchyes, or countyes, or marquisates, &c. and commonly the title and land are inseperable (as the earldome of Arundell with us was annexed to the castle of that name,) soe that a gentleman in Ffrance having three sonns, and by descent or purchase a county, a marquisate, and a baronny, the estate according to the law here is divided amongst them, only the eldest hath the antientest and best honour, bee it barony or marquisate, or what else; the second is Monsieur le Comte of such a place, and the youngest Monsieur le Marquis of such a place, according to the lands that fall to their share.

A dutchy and pairry should, by severall edicts, made in Charles the 9<sup>th</sup>'s and Henry the 3<sup>rd</sup>'s time, consist of lands worth eight thousand crownes yearly revenue, and for want of heires males of him to whom it is first granted bee extinct. A marquisat ought to consist of three baronyes, and six chastellanyes united, and held of the king. A comté of two baronyes and three chastellanyes, or one barony and six chastellanyes united, and held by one homage of the king. A barony, of three chastellanyes incorporated together; but I thinke these orders are now corrupted in Ffrance, as the like have beene in England, where such rules were also antiently observed.

No duke, marquis, count, or baron (except hee bee also a peere of the realme), hath any privilege by his title above the rest of the gentlemen, besides precedence or place, which they ordinarily take according to the antiquity of their houses, or as they are descended from ancestors that have borne great offices in y<sup>e</sup> state or commands in armyes, and not according to the date of their creations or their honours as the English way is; for some counts take place of marquises, but they avoid as much as they can all disputes of this nature, by contending who shall exceede one another in curtesie and humility, every one preferring another before himselfe in his owne house or coach, and in indifferent places, by a freedome of going in and out as they are next the doore and sitting at meales at round tables and the like.

The noblesse hold of the king by knights' service, and are generally bred up in the warr; they are not only respected, and honord by the paysants and townsmen, but also highly esteemed by the king himselfe: they come all freely with their swords by their sides to all roomes in court, even into the king's bed chamber and cabinet; they keepe a distance with all that are not noble, bee they

never soe rich ; they only can bee governours of townes, castles, or provinces, and have all places in their hands that concerne the safety and peace of the kingdome ; they have great commands and power in their mannours and seigniories, many having therein the right of justice both in civil and criminall causes, even to the taking away life ; they have generally free warren in their lands, and none can hawke, hunt, or shoote, that are not gentlemen, except in some places adjoining to great townes ; and in conclusion (which is the greatest and highest priviledge), the king can impose nothing on their lands or persons, neither of which are justly taillable ; but of late the crowne hath encroacht upon them, by laying taxes on all gentlemen's lands that are farmed out to tenants, but their demesnes and what they hold in their owne hands, as well as their persons, are still free from tailles.

[Here follows a list of " the principall dukes, marquises, counts, and viscounts, that are not peeres," together with the armorial bearings of each.]

The wives and daughters of those that are nobles, are called after their husbands' and ffathers' principall title, and not by the surnames of their families, as the wife and daughters of the Marquis de Beüron (whose surname is Harcourt) are called Madame and Mademoiselles de Beüron, and not de Harcourt ; but notwithstanding, every married woman signes by her own ffather's name, and not by her husband's, though shee is called therby by others. It is the custome also in Ffrance for wives to be called by their husbands' offices, as the wife of the Lord Chancellor is called Madame la Chancelière ; the wife of a Mareschal of Ffrance, Madame la Mareschale ; the wife of a judge, Madame la Juge, &c.



The nobility and gentry of Ffrance are generally well qualified,—they ride the great horse ; fence and dance perfectly well ; have some skill in musicke ; play all upon the gitarre or lute ; understand arithmeticke and the mathematickes well ; have commonly some knowledge of philosophy and history, which they reade in their owne language, and not in Latin, for they affect not studying controversies in divinity or the old tongues, or beeing too bookish, being naturally addicted to action and the warr, and to conversation and courtship ; they are great masters of language, full of compliment and civility ; and, on the other side, tender of their honour and impatient of affronts, from whence many duells are occasioned. They are great courtiers and servants of ladies, neate in their clothes, full of fancy therein, gallant in their attendance, affable to strangers, easily acquainted, but not easily wrought upon, understanding and subtle in affaires of state and the generality of businesse, quicke apprehensors, studious and industrious after their interests, full of aire and spirit, (called by the duller northerne nations fantastickness and levity) ;—and whatsoever the old Gaules were, they of this age are seriously wise men, and come not short of the Italians or Spaniards in any thing but extremity of patience, being not able to attend halfe their life for the execution of a designe. Ffew of them live settled in the countrey, but being universally ambitious of power and glory, either follow the court, or take commands in the armye, or have governments of townes or provinces. Their revenues are not very great for the most part. Few marquises or counts exceed 1500 or 2000 pounds a-year sterling, and the dukes foure or five ; yet some few have forty or fifty thousand yearly, as the Prince of Condé (who is also judged very rich in money), the Duke of Vendosme, the Duke of Espernon, the Duke of Rais, the Duke of Richelieu, &c. Their exercises are chiefly

tennis, hunting, riding, and shooting with a gun, wherein they are very skilfull; they love setting and coursing very much, and hunt not with that gravity and order as in England, nor desire they to have their dogs at much command; but when the first are spent have fresh of relay, as well as horses. The lesser gentry goe into the feild with hounds, greyhounds, currs, spaniells, and guns altogether, and anything to take their game, which is either hare, partrich, deere, boare, or fowll. They are innocent of the vices of the Easterne parts of the world, and of the excesse of drinking, the vice of the Northerne people; yet some few that have beene soldiers in Holland are great drinkers, from whence also the English, in Queene Elizabeth's time, receaved also their first infection in that kind, as Camden (who lived in that tyme) reports.

Most of the great antient ffamilies are extinct, and soe consequently the old feudes; soe that gentlemen live quietly together, except in Poictou, where there are yet daily quarrells betwixt neighbouring ffamilies.

That gallant antient name of Montmorency (who were held to bee the first Christian barons of Europe), was cutt of and ended by the execution of the last duke thereof, who was put to death at Tholose by the Cardinall Richlieu's means for joining with the Duke of Orleans in some troubles against the last King Lewis the 13th. He was a person much lamented, not only because hee left no children nor heires males of his house, but also because hee was yong, and of a most noble generous disposition, and very courageous. There is still a remainder of the regall branch of the Courtneyes (who are descended from a son of Lewys the Grosse), but the house is poor and not countenanced.

The House of Espernon (who are earles still of Kendall in England), doth againe flourish since the death of

Cardinall Richlieu ; as also the House of Guyse and the severall branches thereof, which were all (except Harcourt), persecuted, banisht, and brought very low by the said cardinall. Most of the other ffamilies that are at present great, have beene raised in the time of the last King Lewis, or of his ffather Henry IV., many of them from soldiers, as the Dukes of Bouillon, Schomberg, La Fforce, Bassompierre, Crequi, Lesdiguiers ; some from lawyers, as Bellieure, Seguiet ; some from ministers of state, as Villeroy, Sully ; some from ffavourites, or mignons, as they call them, as Luines, Chaulne, Varennes, and all the kindred of Cardinall Richlieu, who are the Dukes of Richlieu, Fronsac, Esquillon, the mareschal of Meilleray and others, though indeed it may be more fittly said that Richlieu and his dependants were advanced for his wisdome and dexterity in managing the greatest and weightiest affairs of state, than for any particular fancy or inclination of the king to his person.

Amongst those that are not noble, are comprehended all the paysants or husbandmen, all tradesmen, or Bourgeois as they call them—all lawyers and merchants—all officers and collectours of y<sup>e</sup> taille and other impositions ; and negatively (as I said before), all that are not descended of a noble race, y<sup>t</sup> is from soldiers, or such as from some great service to the state have beene enobled by the king's letters pattents. These are called Roturiers, and their lands and persons are taillable, that is subject to such impositions as the king pleaseth to impose on them ; yet they may now-a-days purchase noble fiefs (which they could not antiently), paying a fine to the king ; and many of them, (espetially the presidents who are lawyers, and the partizans, who are such as farne new impositions, and are a kind of projectors), are excessive rich, for I have beene assured that some partizans have forty and fifty thousand pounds a-yeare

sterling, and 'tis usual for a president to give ten thousand pistolles for his place, and more.

The tradesmen are well to live, and the merchants; but they are not soe rich as in England or Holland, because few of them trade into Turkey, or the Indyees, or indeed into Spaine, or those we call the East countreyes; but the business is most in strangers' hands, who are dispersed through all the sea townes and other principall places of Ffrance. Many reasons are given why this nation is soe inconsiderable at sea, but as farr as I can judge, there is neither any naturall unaptness in the nation for sea voyages, nor scarcity of good ports, nor want of materialls for building of shippes, for here is good store of wood, and wee know the Hollanders have none growing in their countrey, and yet are glorious most in their fleetes; but rather ascribe this great defect to the negligency of their kings and their principall ministers, an errour which the wise Cardinall Richlieu had taken notice of, and begane soe to reforme that had hee livd some years, the Ffrench certainly had beene terrible by sea as well as land; but it was a worke of tyme, and could not bee brought by him to perfection in a few yeares; yet wee saw hee advanc'd it soe farr, that whereas in Henry the 4th's reigne the Ffrench never durst pretend to an opposition against Spaine in the Mediterranean sea, they have within these seven last yeares fought many tymes with them, and are at present masters of that sea both in galleyes and ships; and for the ocean, in the yeare 1639, the Archbishop of Bourdeaux appeared with such a fleet on the coasts of Biscay and Gallicia, that the Spaniard dared not to looke upon.

The artificers are laborious, and with good successe; for besides abundance of coarse cloths and serges, which they make, they are arrived at Tours and other places to a great perfection in making of all kinds of silke stuffs. They are

also excellent architects, engravers, goldsmiths, upholsters, taylors, and smythes for lockes, gunns, and sizers, and make the best hats in the world.

As for the peasants, that are at this present poore, by reason of the great impositions, and because they are only at will tenants upon the racke, and in a manner slaves to the gentry, for here is no such sort of people as the yeomen in England, or our Cheshire or Westerne ffarmours, yet they are not soe miserable as they are commonly reported, for few dye for hunger, or want sixpence or a shilling to spend for a collation (as they call it) any holli-day in a taverne.

The Infanterie (which consists ever of these paysants) is raised by the beating of a drum, and not by presse (only it were the last yeare) that I ever heard of; and (notwithstanding my Lord Bacon's opinion, in his History of Henry the 7<sup>th</sup>) is very good; for though it may seeme that the poverty and slavery they are bred up in should cowardise them, yet we find, that upon service, whether their desire of booty and plunder spurr them on (their poverty rendring them extremely covetous), or their necessities drive them to despaire, and soe to fury, or their ambition to rise by the sword (which they are certaine they can never doe by any other meanes) raiseth up their spiritts; whether any of these, or their transplantation into other ayres and countreyes where the warrs are, or custome, make them valiant, 'tis certaine they are very good men,—wittnes those many strong holds they have taken in these last warrs, which could not soe soon have beene masterd but by an undaunted exposing of themselves to the cannon's mouth, and to the small shott, as by name Graveling, Dunkerke, the ffort of Mardicke, Salsas, Philipsbourg, and many others. Witnes, also, their deportment in the open field in the battles of Rocroy,

Nordlinguen, and against the Duke of Bavaria three years since, where the foote did excellent service; as also at the releife of Casal, under the command of Count Harcourt, and in severall rencontres in Catalognia; and wee find by experience in the present civill warrs in England, that the businesse is done by soldiers of fortune and the poorer sort of people, and not by rich farmers and husbandmen, who take a care of their lives in hopes to enjoy their plentifull fortunes; and, because of their quality, are not capable of dishonour that should deter them from cowardise. I could not let passe this opinion of the best policy to bee putting the armes of a kingdome into the hands of rich clownes, such as our English trained bands, without this note, that wee now find, by prooffe both at home and abroad, that they are the unfittest sort of people to manage them.

#### THE GOVERNMENT.

THE government of the kingdome of France is monarchicall, or rather in present tyrannicall according to the moderne acceptation of the word. The shadow and ideas of lawes, and the antient constitutions, remayne, but the soveraigne power of the prince is soe absolute, as to controule them all. *Hoc volo, hoc jubeo, tel est nostre plaisir*, are the words now in fashion. Lewis the 12<sup>th</sup> was said to bee the first king that brought the crowne of France out of wardship, or pupillage; what hee left unfinished, his successors have perfected, but not without the helpe of the people themselves, who, nothing contented with the happy estate they were in, attempted to soare higher, and pay'd for their presumption with the loss of their just and before unquestioned priviledges and libertyes. The historyes of all nations are full of examples, that too much felicity, too great immunityes of subjects, puffe them up to their owne

ruine, and, by contesting for supream power, justly forfeit their owne freedoms and riches. See the Protestants in Ffrance enfore'd the king to oppresse them, and, by their disobedience and ambition, enslaved themselves; and see the commotions of the house of Guise, and of y<sup>e</sup> citty of Rouen the other day, did but fill the king's coffers, and work their own humiliation; and so the miserable Hollanders, by refusing their owne prince (the king of Spaine) a small contribution, plunged themselves into a warr of three score yeares continuance, and the highest impositions and excises that may bee, and, by casting of one lawful master, made themselves slaves to hundreds; and, by this tyme, the English feele how dangerous innovations are, and what are the consequences of opposing and contemning majesty.

The lawes under which France seemes and ought to bee govern'd, are municipall, mixt of the Civil Roman Law and severall customes of severall provinces. Indeed, if rightly observ'd, all the present lawes of Europe are such; the old Civill Roman Law is nowhere wholly and punctually observ'd; neither is it possible they should, there being a necessity that lawes should change with the humour and constitution of the people and tymes. Nothing is perfect or immutable under the sun; that which is wisdom and reason to-day, in another age is folly, madnes, and destruction.

#### COURTS OF JUSTICE.

For the administration of justice, civill and criminall, the lowest judicatories are those they call ordinary; and the officers, officiers ordinaires; and they are either the king's (called royaux), or lords' that have justice. The king's are called by severall names:—in Normandy, vicomtes; in the heart of France, prevosts; in Languedoc,

Provence, Dauphiné, and Guyen, Viguiers; in Poictou, chastellaines. They are commonly of the short robe, but assisted by some of the long robe, called juges. Their principall authority (without the judges) was and is, to assemble the ban and the arrierban, and to judge and execute criminall causes; yet in civill causes, also, the orders passe as well under their names as the judges; and in Paris, there is no other ordinary jurisdiction but of the prevosts and their leiftenants, both in civill and criminall matters. The officers of the lords that have justice (as most gentlemen have in their mannours; or, as they call them, noble-feifs, or feudes) are usually called juges bannerets—judges bannerett—who heare and determine within their precincts all civill and criminall causes (except some few, which are called royall cases). In civill cases under forty shillings, or thereabouts, there is no appeale from these courts-barons, as wee may call them; but, otherwise, unles in some dutchyes and countyes, there lyes appeale to the seneschalls; and in criminall, to the courts of parliament only. The next degree of judicatures, is that of the seneschals or bailifs, who are of the short robe, to whom of late tymes have beene adjoyn'd lieutenants, both civill and criminall, of the long robe. These have cognisance of those priviledged royall cases of which y<sup>e</sup> officers of lords could not judge in their court bannerets, and of all appeales from the said courts, in all civill causes.

The next step is to the presidiall courts, whereof each consists of a president, and a certaine number of judges and assistants, who are called conseillers, all of the long robe. These courts were instituted anno 1551. They are souveraine in some civill cases, if they exceed not 500 livers, that is, 50 pounds sterling, or 10 livers rent per annum; in other cases, 1000 livers, or 20 livers rent; and in some criminall cases, as concerning robbers on the high-



way, and vagabonds, and coyners of false money; but in all other cases, an appeal lyes from them to the courts of parliament. These presidiall courts are ever resident in principal townes, as Angiers, Bloys, Orleans, and such like; and in every parliament towne there is also a presidiall jurisdiction.

#### THE PARLIAMENTS.

SUPERIOUR to all these jurisdictions, or courts above-mentioned, are the parliaments—les parlements, which, by reason of their high authority, are sometimes tearmd sieges souveraignes—soveraigne courts; yet they are not of the like constitution, or supreme power, as our parliaments in England, but are, indeed, no more but the constant supreme ordinary courts of justice, to which appeales lye from the above-mentioned inferiour judicatoryes, and which have cognisance of civill causes of what value soever, and meddle with all such matters as our King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Court of Requests (as it was first instituted in England for the king's servants), as well as with all chancery or equitable matters.

They are (besides Nancy in Loraine, a new conquest) nine in number: and were thus rankt at the assembly of notables held at Roüen, 1617. 1. Paris (at first ambulatory, made sedentary, or fixt, by Philip the faire,) whose jurisdiction extends over the Isle of Ffrance, Champagne, Beausse, Touraine, Anjou, Auvergne, Lionnois, Picardy, and diverse other provinces. 2. Tholouze, erected by the same Philip for Languedoc and part of Guyenne. 3. Grenoble, for Daupiné, by Lewis the Eleventh, instead of the conseil which was before the supreme court. 4. Dijon, for Burgundie, by the same Lewis, instead of the Grands Jours, or the conseils of the dukes of Burgundy. 5. Bourdeaux, for Guyenne, by Charles the 7<sup>th</sup>.

6. Roüen, for Normandie, by Lewy's the 12<sup>th</sup>, instead of the eschiquiers, and assises generall of the dukes of Normandie. 7. Aix, for Provence, by the same king, instead of the conseil of the counts of Provence. 8. Rennes, for Brittany, by Henry the 2<sup>nd</sup>. 9. Pau, for Bearne, by Lewis the 13<sup>th</sup>. A tenth was established at Mets, anno 1633, by Lewys the 13<sup>th</sup>, for the countreyes belonging to Mets, Toul, and Verdun, three bishopricks adjoining to Lorraine, under the protection of the crowne of Ffrance. The principall of these parliaments is that of Paris, not that there is any appeale from the other parliaments thither, for they all judge definitively; but it is the most honourable, by reason of it's antiquity and extent of jurisdiction, which reaches above 400 miles in length, as also, because it is the only court where the princes of the blood and peeress of Ffrance and officers of the crowne are to bee tryed, and all causes concerning them privatively to bee heard, and where they have voice and sitt when they please. Here also the king's edicts in matters of state are to bee verified, (that is, by being consented to and past there, made authentick) all the apennages of the king's sonnss, and all erections of dutchyes, marquisates, and countyes to bee registered, and where all officers of the crowne, as conestable, mareschalls of Ffrance, admiralls, &c., and the great officers of the king's house, as the great master, grand escuyer, y<sup>t</sup> is master of the horse, take their oaths; and in briefe this court hath beene antiently of such estimation, that foreigne princes stood to the judgement thereof, nay, the Emperour Fredericke Barbarossa himself (submitted) the differences betwixt him, and the Pope Innocent 4<sup>th</sup> to their sentence.

They have their vacations and tearmes as our courts in Westminster, but the solemn actuall opening of the parliament is at St. Martin's annually. The place where the

parliament of Paris (sits) is called the Palais, which was heretofore the king's house, where severall courts sitt, for the dispatch of businesses of severall natures.

The Ffrench are used to call our two houses of parliament in England, *les deux chambres, la haute, et la basse*—the two chambers, the high and the low—in imitation of their owne custome of calling the severall courts in their parliaments, “chambres.” The parliament of Paris hath in it these chambers following :—1. That of pleading, and the prelates, which they call *La Grande Chambre*, the Great Chamber, wherein all the princes of the blood, and all dukes and peeres have voices by their birth, all the great officers of the crowne, and of the king's house, the mareschalls of Ffrance, and some others of the short robe by extraordinary commission (as the Marquis D'Effiat had,) the 6 ecclesiasticall peeres, the archbishop of Paris, and the abbot of *S<sup>t</sup>. Denis* have place and voice ; all the other archbishops, and bishopps of the kingdome have seate, but not voice ; all the masters of requests (who may weare silke robes wh<sup>ch</sup> the consaillers cannot,) 27 consaillers, that is judges, and 8 presidents *au mortier*, (called so from the figure of their velvet capps, like a mortar) have seate and voice, and all these under one premier president, y<sup>t</sup> is first president, who is the mouth, head, and director of the court, and whose authority is very great. 2<sup>dly</sup>. Five Chambers of Enquiryes, *Chambres des Enquestes*, with two presidents in each chamber, and a certaine number of consaillers. 3<sup>dly</sup>. Two Chambers of Requestes du Palais, with masters of requests and 4 presidents, they judge all matters personall, possessory, &c. \* \* \* \* \* such as the principall officers of the crowne, counsellours of the privy counsell, m<sup>rs</sup>. of requests, secretaries, and all domesticke servants that receave wages from the king, queene, queene mother, the king's children, the first princes

of the blood, the officers of soveraign courts, the leiftenants civill, criminall, and particular, the king's advocates and procureurs, and the widows of all these during their widowhood, the chapters and \* \* \* \* of churches and colleges, the dean, canons, and chapter of Paris, and the king's readers, and professors in the universityes, and other officers. Appeales lye from these Requestes to the Enquestes and the Great Chamber. 4<sup>thly</sup>. The Chamber of the Edict, consisting of one president and 16 conseillers, nam'd by the king, wherein all businesses concerning those of the reformed religion are judged, since the edicts of pacification in Henry the 3<sup>rd</sup> and Henry the 4<sup>th's</sup> tyme: but in the parliaments at Roüen, Grenoble, and some of the rest there are chambres myparties, wherein the one halfe of the judges are to bee of the religion; but in Rennes and Aix, there are neither chambres myparties, nor of the edict. 5<sup>thly</sup>. La Tournelle or Chambre Criminelle, consisting of 2 presidents au mortier and 16 lay conseillers, whereof ten are taken every 3 months out of the 5 chambres d'Enquestes, and 6 every 6 months out of the Grande Chambre, and it's therefore call'd Tournelle, because the judges are taken out of the other chambres to sit there, chacun à son tour, every one in his turne or order. Here are heard, and judged, all criminall matters, and these only. To conclude, the number of the ordinary judges of the parliament of Paris, amounts to 200, to which they are now this yeare, 1648, adding as many more for money, and soe making the present to bee only semestres, y<sup>t</sup> is to sitt six months the yeare. Upon some great and urgent affairs of state the king sitts sometimes in person in parliament, as this winter, the yong king, with the queene regen his mother, came thither to see certaine edicts verified for y<sup>e</sup> raising some new taxes on the people, wh<sup>ch</sup> by his presencc past,

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of the blood, the officers of sovereign courts in tenants civil, criminal, and particular, the advocates and procureurs, and the widows of all these courts their widowhood, the chapters and \* \* \* churches and colleges, the dean, canons and curates of Paris, and the king's readers, and professors in the universities, and other officers. Appeals by way of Requestes to the Enquestes and the Grand Council 4<sup>th</sup>. The Chamber of the Edict, consisting of a president and 16 conseillers, nam'd by the king, who judge businesses concerning those of the religion that are judged, since the edicts of pacification in 1577, and Henry the 4<sup>th</sup>'s tyme: but in the provinces of Rouën, Grenoble, and some of the rest, there are myparties, wherein the one half of the judges are of the religion; but in Rennes and some of the autres chambres myparties, not of the religion. The Grand or Chambre Criminelle, consisting of a president, mortier and 16 lay conseillers, who sit there every 3 months out of the year. The Grand Council 6 every 6 months out of the year. The Grand Council therefore call'd *Tourne* sits there every 3 months out of the other chambers. The Grand Council judges, all criminal causes, and the number of the judges is 16. The Grand Council of Paris.

but otherwise had not, as was believed. The king hath in every parliament his procureur general, the same with the king's attorney in England, 2 advocats generaux, like the king's solicitor in England, 4 notaryes, or secretaries, and such other inferiour officers, as our English courts of justice have, and 'tis permitted to every subject to plead and defend himselfe against the king, as in England, and hee answers or opposes by his procureurs or advocats.

#### INTENDANTS.

For the better and more impartial administration of justice in y<sup>e</sup> provinces, the king hath also in every province an officer call'd Intendant de la Justice, a superintendent of justice, who is usually a councillour of state, and a master of requests; he hath a commission in these words—Entrer, seoir et presider aux sièges, et jurisdictions de la province, toutes-fois et quant que bon vous semblera, et recognoistre si nos officiers font leur devoir en l'exercice et fonctions de leurs charges, oüir les plaintes et doleances de nos-dicts sujets, pourvoir sur icelles, et leur faire faire bonne et briefue justice.—*Les Grands Jours*. Upon extraordinary occasions, an extraordinary commission is sent under the great seale into the provinces to hold La Séance des Grands Jours, which is a temporary court constituted of a president, a master of requests, and three or more conseillers, part lay, part of the church, one of the king's advocates, with notaryes, & \* \* \* officers, to whom is \* \* \* also the gouvernour of the province. They take cognizance of civill matters to the value of 60 pistolls rent, and 1000 pistolls in money worth, and of all criminall matters, especially great ryots, and disorders of powrful persons, and of corruptions of officers of justice and others, and new edicts and ordinances of consequence are there confirmed and ordered to be put in execution.

## GREAT COUNCELL.

SUPERIOR in some cases to all the aforementioned courts (even the parliament), is the great councell, whereof the Lord Chancelor of Ffrance is first president, and is assisted with 8 masters of requests as presidents, and 17 conseillers, and the princes of the blood, and the peeres of Ffrance, and the officers of the crowne. They heare some causes of consequence by reference from the parliaments, some by appeale from them, and some by reference from the king. They judge, also, all differences of jurisdictions betwixt one court of justice and another, and of all causes concerning archbishoprickes, bishoprickes, priories, elective and conventuall, and other benefices, the collation, presentation, or nomination whereof belong to the king, and not to the pope. This councell hath a procureur-general, and other ministeriall officers belonging to it.

LORD-CHANCELO<sup>r</sup>.

THE principall officer of justice in the kingdom is le chancelier,—the chancelor or keeper of y<sup>e</sup> great seale, whose office and power resembles soe neerely that of England, excepting this, that the chancelour of France is not a sole judge in matters of equity, that I shall not neede to bee particuler in the description thereof. Hee not only presides in the great councell, but in all other councells and courts when hee comes, and must never weare mourning, no, not upon the king's death. All edicts of perpetuities are seal'd in greene wax, and the rest in whyte, excepting such as concerne Daupiné and Provence, which are in red wax. In the severall parliaments and courts there are also chanceryes, the seales



whereof are small ones, and are kept by the masters of requests, and have only force in the resort of that court or parliament to which they belong.

#### THE THREE ESTATES.

THE supream court of all is called *Les Estats du Royaume*, or *Les Trois Estats*, consisting of the cleargy—that is, such deputies as they please to send; the nobility—that is, deputies of the gentry; and the *tiers estat*, as they call it, the third estate—that is, the deputies of such townes as have the priviledge to send any. All these sitt in one roome, but each of the three bodyes distinct from the other; in which roome is also the king's chaire of estate, rais'd up upon the highest of three foot paces, which are before it. The queene, and the king's children, and his brothers, sit neere to the chaire, but a little backward. The great chamberlaine sitts at the king's feete, on a velvett cushion. The great master on a velvett chaire, without armes, on his right-hand, on the further end of the lowest foot pace; and on his left-hand, at the same distance from the king, sitts the chancelour, on a velvet chaire, with armes. Betwixt the chancellor and the great master, two huissiers—y<sup>t</sup> is, sergeants-at-armes—kneele, holding up their maces. The captaines of the garde, and the king's servants stand behind the king's chaire, and the queene's, and the princes' and princesses'. Below the paces is a theater or stage, on the right side whereof sit the princes of the blood, seperated by a little barr from the princes of the House of Lorraine, and then some peerres. On the left hand, over against them, sit cardinalls, and dukes, and peerres, and the mareschalls of Ffrance, and behind them, on a forme, sit the first gentleman of the king's chamber, and the m<sup>r</sup> of his wardrobe.

At the foot of the theater, over against the king, there is a table, at which the secretaries of estate sit, with their backs to the theater; and on their right hands, close to the barra, on formes rang'd in length, sit the chancellours of state of the long robe, and the mast<sup>r</sup> of requests; and on the left-hand, over against them, the counsellours of estate of the short robe, most of them knights of the king's orders. Five or six paces from the theater, upon the pavement of this great roome or hall, formes are sett on each side. On the right, the ecclesiastick order is plac'd; on the left, la noblesse—the gentry; and behind them, the third estate—that is, the deputyes of townes. Before the formes, are the heralds, in their coats of armes. The masters of the ceremonies, with some of the king's guards about him, are placed on formes rang'd across, in the midst of the hall. The whole house is closed in with barriers, with one place only left open to enter in at which is at the lower end, just opposite to the king's chaire.

In this manner and order the last generall estates were held which sate in Paris anno 1614, at w<sup>h</sup> tyme there were in the Ecclesiasticke Chamber, 140 Deputyes; in that of the Gentry 132; and in that of the third estate 192. In going to sitt, the third estate went first, the gentry followed them, and the church came last next to the king.

These estates are not much different in power, y<sup>e</sup> businesse they treat, or in constitution from our parliaments: they are call'd at the king's pleasure, and at his pleasure dissolved; the deputyes are elected by virtue of the king's writts; there all the greivances of the church, nobility, and commonwealth, are presented to His Majesty; redresse humbly petitioned for; all charges of moneyes extraordinary were there condescended to antiently, otherwise could not bee imposed on the subject, but now the

king by his edict, verefyed in the parliaments, layes what taxes and impositions hee pleaseth on the people.

The estates have beene very seldome called in these latter kings' reignes, but in their place and stead to consult of the generall affaires of the kingdome with more security to the prerogative, the kings have found out another way, that is to call together all the first presidents of the kingdome, and all the king's attorneyes, and some others, as in the yeare 1624, at Paris, and these assemblies are call'd, *Les Notables du Royaume*.

These are the provisions for justice in this famous kingdome, which are excellently good and were wisely instituted, but the universall complaint is of injustice, corruption, and extortion, and, indeed, with much reason; the lawes have now little more force than the spider's webb to hold the small flies, but the great breake through. But the judges have some excuse, they think they may sell what they have soe dearly pay'd for. No place of judicature is by any other way attained to but by purchase from the king, who makes a constant revenue thereof, and sells even reversions, and at a very high rate, the humour of the French being generally to bee in authority. A conseiller of the parliament of Paris gives ordinarily seven or eight thousand pounds sterling for his place, and others proportionably. This generall greivance is by some defended, for they say that by these sales the Crowne makes a great constant revenue, and the people are no losers, there being such variety of pretenders and desirers of honour and power, that the king neede not choose amisse, either in point of sufficiency, or honesty and integrity; and they say the king takes here but what is given privately underhand to courtiers in other countreyes, by whom also they are protected to squeeze the people, and soe the mischief is as great in other places as in France.

## LAWES AND CUSTOMES.

MANY provinces that are now united to the crowne of Ffrance having beene heretofore for many yeares together either under soveraigne princes of their own, or held only by homage from Ffrance by their dukes and counts ; and having beene overrun and possest by severall strange nations, as the Danes, Goths, Brittaines, and others, their lawes and customes came to bee very different one from another, so that to speake particularly of them is neither within my knowledge nor designe in this small pamphlett ; I shall only therefore tell you in the generall, that Languedoc, Provence, and Daupiné, retaine most of the Roman civill law. Normandy hath a common law almost the same with ours of England, and taken to bee the pattern and mother of ours. Brittany hath many of the old Welsh or Brittish constitutions. Gascony, Burgundy, Poictou, and Anjou, have diverse customes proper to each of them, and differing from the lawes of Paris, and of those other provinces which are properly and restrictively called Ffrance, throughout which there is, as noted before in another place, one municipall law, composed of the civill and canon lawes, and of some peculiar customes of their owne, some of which, as concerning their manner of successions to inheritances and some other things, I shall touch lightly, espetially such as I find most different from those of our owne countrey. All lands roturieres (that is, that are not noble fiefs) are, after the death of the ancestor, divided equally amongst all the children, bee they male or female, for a daughter hath as good a share as a son, and the yongest as the eldest. But in all noble fiefs, the eldest son, by the law, takes two parts of three, and the chiefe house and seignury ; and the younger children, sons and daughters, (whom they call

cadets), have the other third part for their partage. If there bee no sonns, the daughters enherit ; and if there bee more than one, the eldest hath two-thirds, as the eldest son useth to have, and the cadettes the other third. Here entayling of land is not permitted ; nor can one disinherit his heire, unless for marrying without his consent, attempting against his life, or some very high disobedience—or devise land that descends to him otherwise than as the law appoints it to goe, which is as above-mentioned : yet a man may sell his lande and spend the money if hee please ; and what he acquires by his parsimony, industry, or good fortune, hee may in his lityme give to which of his children hee will ; or to any other ; but if it bee not actually delivered by himselfe before hee die, all his money and personall estate is to bee divided equally betwixt his children, whether hee bee noble or not. A man is not of a sufficient age to enter on his lands or personall estate, and manage them and dispose of them, untill hee bee five and twenty yeares old ; and till that age hee hath guardians, if hee bee noble, and curators if otherwise. The mother's land or estate, as soon as shee dies, falls to her heire ; and her son or heire, when they are twenty-five yeares of age, may enjoy it, though the father bee living, but till then the father, or, if hee bee dead, the next kinsman, is curator, or gard noble. If a son marry without his father's consent before hee bee thirty yeares old, or a daughter before five-and-twenty, the marriage is absolutely null. To steale a man's daughter away (*enleuer une fille*, they call it), and marry her without the father's or guardian's consent, is punishable with death. A coachman was lately hang'd at Mans, for driving away his Mr's coach with a gentlewoman in it whom his master had stolen away. A wife hath for her dower a third part of her husband's estate during her life ; and what her husband

purchaseth during their intermarriage, shee may dispose of the one moiety thereof if shee survive. To get a maid with child and refuse to marry her is punishable with death. To kill a man or woman is death, whether it bee in hot or cold blood, and here is no such thing as the benefit of clergy. Thefts and robberyes whatsoever are punished with death; and this law is strictly put in execution. All persons that are noble that are adjudged to dye, must have their heads cutt off, but others are hangd or broken on the wheele. Roturier land is sold ordinarily for twenty yeares' purchase; the smallest noble fief for five-and-twenty, some for thirty, some for forty, and some more, as they are wooded and have good buildings on them, or, as they say, are terres fort seigneuriales, that is, are lands that have great royalties, and have many fiefs that relèvent, that is, hold of them. Money is set forth to use in most places for the 18<sup>th</sup> penny, that is about the rate of six in the hundred; but in Normandy it goes higher.

#### THE KING.

THE fountaine of all honour and justice is the king, who comes to the crowne by succession of the male line, not by any kind of election. Hee (out of his owne regality and power) makes lawes, repeales or interprets them, makes peace, declares warr, coynes money, grants pardons, naturalises strangers, legitimates bastards, layes what taxes and imposts hee pleaseth, and disposeth of the money, erects courts of justice and universityes, makes all governours, creates offices; and, in a word, is absolute.

The present monarch is Lewis, the fourteenth of that name, borne at St. Germain en Lay, the 5th of September new style, anno Dmni. 1638; stiled by many A Deodatus, the king and queene having beene married 26

yeares before his birth without any issue. Hee is the son of King Lewis the 13<sup>th</sup>, and the grandchild of King Henry the 4<sup>th</sup>, who was the first king of the House of Bourbon, which lyne entered into the succession of the crowne by their Salicke law, as the next male lyne after the extinction of that of Valois, in Henry the Third.

His mother is Anne of Austria, eldest sister to Philip the Fourth, the present King of Spaine. The tender age of this young prince will not afford much to bee said of his person; no judgement can yet bee made of his inclinations, but his countenance promises as much sweetnes and goodnes as any that ever I beheld; his complexion is pure and delicate (therein resembling his mother's side), his haire faire, his eyes black, and all his features perfectly good and lovely; the shape of his body is answerable, his limbs streight and well proportioned, and strong enough.

When hee was solely under the women's care, the Countesse of Senecy was his governess; but now the Mareschal of Villeroy, son to the old and worthy Secretary Villeroy, is his governour, and the Abbot of Beaumont, a D<sup>r</sup>. of the Sorbonne Colledge, and a creature of Cardinall Richlieu's, his tutor. His style in his edicts and pattents is Louis par la Grace de Dieu Roy de France, et Navarre. Hee signs Louys underneath, not above, as the King of England useth. His subjects, when they write to him, endorse Au Roy, and others Au Roy Tres Chrestien.

#### QUEENE REGENT.

DURING the king's minority (which ends when he is fourteen years of age), the three Estates, or the Parliament of Paris, ordaine a guardian of his tender person, who is also regent of the kingdome. Of late ages the queene mothers have beene preferred before all others, and soe was this

present queene mother. In her name, conjoynly with the king's, all edicts, pattents, and other acts of regality, doe passe in this forme: "Par le Roy, et la Reine Regente." Shee hath ever beene esteemed a princesse of singular goodnes, virtue, patience, and devotion; her power, in the king her husband's tyme, was eclipsed if not annihilated by the great credit and favour of Cardinall Richlieu. Soon after her election to the regency, shee thought best to assure her government by clemency, and chiefly by recalling the Princes of the House of Guyse, the Duke of Espernon, Marquis of Vieville, and others who had beene disgrac'd, banish'd, and almost ruined by Cardinall Richlieu; and by calling the Duke of Orleans to her counsell, and investing him with the honours & authoritys due to the first prince of the blood; by these means, and the generall opinion of her mildnes, and mercie, and peaceable nature, the whole kingdome expected presently an ease of their burthens and taxes, and a restitution to the blessings of peace, and the rather because 'twas conceav'd an accord might bee sodainly made with the King of Spaine, who is her brother; but now these hopes are almost turned to despaire, seeing the warr more eagerly and violently pursued in all parts than in the last king's tyme, and new and most heavy impositions layd yearly on the people, and the whole power of the state put by her into the hands of a stranger, Cardinall Mazarine, who is descended from a subject of the King of Spaine's, and is as absolute as his raiser, Cardinall Richlieu, was.

This new favourite, nevertheles, uses his power and privacy with gentlenes and moderation, and is not yet opposed by the princes and great personages; only the Duke of Beaufort, eldest son to the Duke of Vendosme, one of Henry the 4<sup>th</sup>'s bastards, began to stirr against him,



and was said to have a designe against his life, but hee lyes now a close prisoner for it in the Bois de Vincennes, and the Cardinall continues in greater favour than before.

#### THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD.

THE first prince of the blood (at this present) is the Duke of Anjou, the king's only brother (and sisters he hath none); hee is usually call'd the Monsieur, a single appellation only proper to the next prince of the blood to the Dauphin, which is a title annex'd to the king's eldest son; this Duke of Anjou is not above 8 yeares of age, of a lively spirit, browne complexion, and blacke haire, like to the House of Bourbon.

The yongest sonns of the Kings of Ffrance have not now, as in antient tyme, partage in the royalty, but enjoy appennages in lands bearing the titles of dutchyes, and pairryes, and countyes; nevertheles, they have the same officers of their house as the king hath, and do hold themselves at least equall to the greatest princes (under the degree of kings), though they bee soveraigne and free, such as the great Duke of Tuscany, the Duke of Savoy, and the like. They write themselves Filz de Ffrance, and of late tyme attribute to themselves the style of Altesse Royale, invented by the free princes of Italy. They signe with their name of baptisme, as the king himselfe doth, but their children and descendants take the title of the principall signeuery of their appennage, making a new branch of the princes of the blood.

The daughters of Ffrance have no lands in dowry as they had antiently, but are only provided for with portions in money, about one or two hundred thousand pounds sterling at the most. They are the only maids who are called dames in Ffrance, except the Daupin's daughters,

all the rest being called damoiselles. They and the males and females issuing from them are excluded from the succession of the crowne by the Salicke law, or at least by long custome and practise.

The next prince of the blood to the Duke of Anjou is John Baptiste Gaston, Duke of Orleans, Chartres, Valois, and Alençon, Earle of Blois, Montleher, &c., unkle to this, and only legitimate brother to the last king. Hee is now about forty yeares of age, of courage and spirit answerable to his birth, though kept in continuall disgrace with his brother the late king, they say, by Cardinall Richlieu's meanes for refusing to marry his niece, Madame de Comballet. The discontents he receiv'd from the cardinall, fomented by Spanish practises, mov'd him to begin some troubles in Languedoc in his brother's reigne, for which the Duke of Montmorency lost his head; but his designes succeeding ill, hee had speedy recourse to the king's clemency, who pardon'd him, and receiv'd him well; but new disgusts arising, hee sodainly left Ffrance, and withdrew himselfe into Flanders, where hee continued some yeares, but afterwards return'd from thence secretly againe into France, and was the second time reconciled to the king, but liv'd privately at Blois, till the king's death, and the decease of Cardinall Richlieu. Hee hath beene admitted by this queene regent into her councells, and the managing of the highest affairs of state, and hath commanded severall armyes in Flanders and Artois with good successe, and lyves now constantly at his palace in Paris, built by the last queene mother, call'd heretofore Luxembourg House, but lately Le Palais d'Orleans. Hee hath beene twice married, first to the heire of the House of Montpensier, a branch of the line of Bourbon, by whom hee hath only one daughter. Her usual style is Mademoiselle, without any addition; shee is now about 25

yeares of age, a princess of wit and spirit, heire to a great fortune by her mother, and on whom much is also like to descend from her father, who hath no issue male.

The Duke of Orleans his second and present wife is the Princesse Marguerite, sister to Charles Duke of Lorraine, whom hee married in Flanders, contrary to the king his brother's will; which marriage (in respect of a law that the princes of the blood in France marry not without the king's consent) was not allow'd to bee valid during the last king's reigne, but a dissolution of it extreemly prest and labour'd for at Rome by Cardinall Richlieu; but since their deaths it is ratified by the pope, and declar'd firme in France. By this lady y<sup>e</sup> duke hath only two daughters.

Immediately after the Duke of Orleans follows now without contest, the Prince of Condé, I say now without contest, since the death of the late Count of Soissons without heire male, who questioned the legitimation of the last Prince of Condé (father to this yong prince,) because the said prince was borne above 13 months after the death of the old Prince of Condé. But king Henry the 4<sup>th</sup>, who was commonly thought to bee his father, caused Condé to bee receaved and acknowledged in the parliament for a legitimate prince of the blood, and procured the resolutions of the universityes of Ffrance, and famous doctors of phisicke in his behalfe, that it is not impossible, but agreeable to nature for a child to bee above 13 months in his mother's belly. This present prince his name is \* \* \* Hee is of the branch of Bourbon. His father, who died two years since, was in his youth brought up in the Protestant religion, but after turned Catholicke, and continued to his death a most bitter enemy to the Huguenots, and friend to the Jesuites. Hee liv'd to his climactericall yeare, was a subtile politicke man, vitious, avaritious, and not at all belov'd. Hee had beene generall of severall

armyes in the last king's tyme against the Spaniard, as before Dole in the county of Burgundy, before Fuentaraby in Biscay, and at other tymes, but was seldome prosperous, which caused many, knowing his extreeme love of money, to doubt and question his fidelity, and some his courage; nevertheless, either his innocence, or constant intimacy with Richlieu, supported him to the last in the king's favour and good opinion.

By his lady (a woman of the greatest beauty and witt in France, and one of the sisters and heires of the last and noble Duke of Montmorency,) hee had two sonns, the now prince, whose title in his father's tyme was Duke of Enguyen, and the Prince of Conty, who is now abbot of St. Denys, and hath great church revenues, but is not in orders, and one daughter call'd Anne, married to the Duke of Longueville in the yeare 1642. This present Prince of Condé is about 24 yeares of age. Hee married a niece of Cardinall Richlieu, sole daughter and (now her brother is slaine in a sea fight against the Spaniards in the Mediterranean Sea, where hee was generall of the gallyes,) sole heire to the Mareschall Breze, by whom hee hath already a son. This yong prince hath beene a very early soldier, and already generall of severall armyes. Hee hath in all occasions carried himselfe with an extraordinary courage, and hath usually beene accompanied with propitious fortune. At Rocroy hee gain'd a famous victory against the Spanish forces, commanded in chiefe by Dom Francesco de Mello, a person of high estimation, and after tooke Theonville, a towne of great strength and importance. In the yeare 1644, hee fought with the Bavarian army near Fribourg in Alsatia, got great advantages over it, and tooke Filia-bourg, and diverse strong townes on the Rhyne; since got a great battle at Nordlinguen in Germany, and tooke

Dunkerke in Flanders : but this last campagne had ill successe before Lerida in Catalognia, which was the first checque his prosperity mett withall. His disposition is generous and liberall, and his deportment princely ; and hee is like to recover the people's affections, which his father lost and slighted. Hee is of a middle stature, browne haire, active, ambitious of honour, and sayd to bee soe good a scholler as to bee able to speake Latine fluently and eloquently, and in a word a prince of great hopes.

#### BASTARDS OF FRANCE.

THE next rank to the princes of the blood is due to the bastards of the kings of France, and of the king's brothers, who, nevertheless, have no part in the succession of the crowne, nor have appennages, but have such dutchyes and pairryes or other lands and titles conferr'd upon them as the king pleaseth. They have the honour to bear the armes of France with some difference, but signe by their fathers' surname, and style themselves most commonly according to their principall seigneury.

The first is the Duke of Angoulesme who signs Valois, hee is the illegitimate son of Charles the 9<sup>th</sup>, and by his wife Charlotte, one of the sisters and heires of the last Duke of Montmorrencey hath one son call'd Lewys de Valois, Count of Alez, Colonell-Generall of the light horse of Ffrance, &c.

The next is Cæsar Duke of Vendosme Beaufort, and Estampes, son to King Henry the 4<sup>th</sup>, by Gabrielle d'Estrées, Dutches of Beaufort, the most beautifull and most constantly belov'd of his mistresses. Hee is a prince of great revenue by the gift of his father, and his match with Frances of Lorraine, only daughter and heire of the

Duke of Mercœur in Brittany, at least of three score thousand pound sterling a yeare. Since the death of his father hee hath beene continually in disgrace at court, which made him heretofore retire to England, and of late to Geneva and Italy. His sonns are two, the Dukes of Beaufort and Mercœur, princes of great spirit and expectation.

Thirdly, Henry of Bourbon, Bishop of Metz, commonly call'd Monsieur de Metz, another son of King Henry the 4<sup>th</sup>. Hee is abbot of the rich abbey of St. Germain in the suburbs of Paris, and a friend and protectour of y<sup>e</sup> English nation. Fourthly, Henry Duke of Longueville and Estouteville, descended from that warlike bastard of Orleans, whose father was Lewis Duke of Orleans, brother to King Charles the 6<sup>th</sup>, and therefore signs Orleans. His first wife was Louyse de Bourbon, sister to the last Count of Poissons, by whom he had only one daughter, and he is now married to the daughter of the last Prince of Condé.

#### DUKES AND PEERES.

AFTER the princes of the blood and bastards of France follow immediately the dukes and peeres, ducs et pairs de France, who are soe made by the king's pattents erecting some of their lands into dutchyes and pairryes, either for their lives only or to them and their heires males, or otherwise ad regis libitum.

These being now many in number are not of that power the old twelve peeres of France were, the memory of whom is still preserv'd at the king's coronation, where they are represented by such princes and great lords as the king pleaseth to make choice of for that purpose. They were six ecclesiasticall, who continue to this day, viz. the

Archbishop and Duke of Rheims, the B<sup>p</sup> and Duke of Laon, the Bishop and Duke of Langres, the Bishop and Count of Beauvais, the Bishop and Count of Chaslons, the Bishop and Count of Noyons ; and six lay peers, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Normandy, the Duke of Guyen, the Count of Tholouze, the count of Flanders, and the Count of Champagne ; all which lay dutchyys and peerages are at this present united to the crowne, excepting Flanders, which the King of Spaine hath.

The present peers have great priviledges and immunities ; they have by birth voice and seate in the three estates, parliaments, and the kings councells, are styled Monseigneurs, their coaches enter in at the gates of the king's houses, and their wyves have the tabourett, that is, sit in the king and queene's presence, and many other. This honour of peerage is only bestowed on persons of great blood, or on extraordinary ffavourites, or such as have almost spent their whole lives and worn out themselves, in the managing affairs of state or in the warr, and soe many tymes the mareschals Ffrance in their old age arrive at this dignity.

#### THE PRESENT DUKES AND PEERES ARE—

(Here follows a list of 24, with the family & armorial bearings of each.)

#### OFFICERS OF THE CROWNE.

THERE was antiently a constable of Ffrance, who had soe great a power in martial affairs that the last King Lewys thought fitt to suppress the charge for ever by his odict, soe that now much of his power resides in the mareschalls

of France, and part is clearly taken away. The mark of his dignity was the naked sword in pale powder'd with the armes of France. The last constable was the Duke of Luynes, favourite to Lewys the 13<sup>th</sup>; before him the Duke of Lesdiguières; before him Henry de Montmorency.

(Here follows a list of former constables.)

#### ADMIRALL.

THE office of admirall was also suppress by the last King Lewys the 13<sup>th</sup>; and in the place thereof the Cardinall Richelieu had a new title given him of chef & superintendant generall of the navigation & commerce of France, as well for the command of all armyes by sea, as for the jurisdiction of sea affaires. The marke of the admirall's dignity was an anker in pale.

(Here follows a list of the admirals of France, back to Enguerrand de Coucy in 1381.)

#### LORD CHANCELOUR.

THE present Lord Chancelour is of the name of Segulier; sometymes there is only a Lord Keeper, (Garde de Seaux) they call him.

#### LORD TREASURER.

LE Surintendant de Finances, signifyes as much as Lord Treasurer of France; the present is Monsieur d'Emery, rais'd from a very private fortune.



## MASTER OF THE ORDINANCE.

THE great master of the artillery is also an officer of the Crowne, soe made first by Henry the Fourth. The Marechal de la Meilleraye hath now the place.

## GENERALL OF THE FOOTE.

LE Colonel General de l'Infanterie is also an officer of the Crowne. The last Duke of Espernon was the first, and his son, the Duke of Valette, who is now also Duke of Espernon, succeeds him in the command. Hee disposes of most places that have relation to the foote, and for the principall officers, hath the nomination and recommendation of them to the king, and justice is done at home in the army by his deputys over the ordinary foote of the kingdome.

GENERALL OF Y<sup>e</sup> LIGHT HORSE.

LE Colonel General des Chevaux Legers, is also an officer of the Crowne. The present is the Count of Alez, by the demission of his father, the Duke of Angoulesme. Hee hath the same jurisdiction and rights over the Light Horse, as the Colonel Generall of the Infantry hath over the foote.

## [MARESCHALLS OF FRANCE.

SINCE the suppression of the constables, the mareschalls of France have a very great power over all the soldiery of the kingdome, and in all questions of honour, and in all things concerning the peace of the kingdome, as for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, robbers, and such like.

Their first institution was to leade on the Avantgarde ; but they are now-a-days seldome employ'd in the feild, but when they are generalls of armyes. The note of their authority is a baston, which is sent them at their creation, and they, as all other officers of the crowne, take their oaths in the court of parliament at Paris. They precede marquises, and give on their coates of armes a marquises coronet and two bastons in saltier. Their seate of justice is still at the marble table in the pallace at Paris, though they may exercise their power in many things wheresoever they goe into the provinces of the kingdome, or when they are in the armyes.

(Here follows a list of the present and of former marshalls.)

#### THE KING'S HOUSE.

##### THE OFFICERS THEREOF.

AFTER the officers of the crowne, the officers of the king's house doe by right take place, and they are,—

The Grand Maistre, like the Lord High Steward of England ; hee beares a baston in pale, powdered with flowerdelys for the signe of his charge, and hath under him maistres d'hostel, who goe before the king's meate with bastons in their hands when it is serv'd up to the king, as is used in Scotland to this day. The present grand maistre is the Prince of Condé.

Le Grand Chambelan, like our Lord Chamberleyne ; the last was the Duke of Chevreuse of the house of Lorraine, who conducted our present Queene Mary into England upon her marriage : the now Chambellan is the Duke of Guise's brother, cosin to the Duke of Chevreuse.

The Duke of Chevreuse is also Surintendant de la Chambre du Roy, de ses Habiliments, et Meubles, much

like the Master of the Robes, and Master of the Wardrobe in England.

There are also foure who are called Premiers Gentilhommes de la Chambre du Roy, who have some resemblance to the Lords of the Bed-chamber in England, and serve by quarter. The four are, le Marquis de Liancourt, Duke de Crequy, Monsieur de Mortemart & \* \* \*

Le Grand Escuyer, like the Master of the Horse with us. The present is Monsieur d'Harcourt, of the house of Guyse. Hee hath beene Generall in Piedmont, Viceroy of Catalognia, and extraordinary ambassador in England, anno 1643, and is esteem'd a good soldier. On solemne dayes hee carries the sword in a blew velvet scabbard embroidered with flowerdelys of gold.

Le Premier Escuyer, hath the command of the little stable, that is of the king's horses for hunting, or the high way. The Duke of St Symon is at this tyme, and hath querryes under him, as there are also querryes of the great stable.

Les Gentilhommes de la Chambre were instituted by Francis the 1<sup>st</sup>, and are something like the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber. They are now but honorary officers, having no wages.

There is also a premier escuyer trenchant, a principall carver, and other carvers, who serve by quarter, and take essay of the king's meate (for the king of France hath no sewers). There are also eschansons—that is, cup-bearers, who take essays of the wyne; but there hath not beene any grand eschanson—lord high butler—of a long tyme.

There are also a maistre-de-ceremonyes, and an aide-de-ceremonyes. The maistre serves only on dayes of solemnityes.

There is also a grand prevost-de-l'hostel, like our knight

mareshall. Hee setts the prices on victualls and horse meat in progresses, and his jurisdiction extends six leagues about the court,

The king hath his grand veneur—that is, great huntsman, who is now the Duke of Montbazon, and his great falconer.

The great almner is a place of great esteeme, having superintendency over all the hospitalls of the kingdome, and all the king's almes. Cardinall Alphonse du Plessis, brother to Cardinall Richlieu, and archbishop of Lyons, is now at this tyme.

There is also a premier aumosnier, and others, serving by quarter ; a maistre de l'oratoire ou chappelle du roy—a deane of the chappell, who hath command over the musike of the chappell, and all other belonging thereto.

To the state of the king's house belong also the heralds, the cheife and head of whom is Montioye, soe called first from a military acclamation in Clouys the first his tyme—Montioye, Montioye ! Hee is the only king of armes in France, and weares a violet velvet coat, with the king's armes on the foure corners. The other heralds are called by provinces, as Normandy, Guyenne, Brittany, Burgundy, Orleans, Daupiné, &c., and they weare coates distinct from Montioye.

This shall suffice for some light of the state of the king's house ; and, for the queene, she hath also officers, as her premier escuyer—the Count of Orval—and others ; her dames d'honneur ; her dames d'atour, like the dressers in England, but more honourable and fewer in number ; her maids of honour—filles de la reyne, and diverse others.

## HIS GUARDS.

BUT the greatest glory and state of the French king consists in his guards, which are both foote and horse. His foote guards are of two sorts, viz. those that wayte constantly about his person, which are called *gardes du corps* or those which wayte at a greater distance, and approach not ordinarily nigh his person; and these are called the regiments of guards.

The guards of the body consist of 4 companyes, the first whereof is of the Scotch nation, and their captain precedes the other, and begins the yeare by serving the first quarter; and when the king enters any towne, the keys are given to him to keepe. This company hath the first choice of quarters, and many other priviledges. It is the antientest of the foure, and was instituted by St. Lewis in the Holy Land, but made up into a company of 100 gentlemen by Charles the 7<sup>th</sup>, in the tyme of his warres against the English. 24 of this company (whereof six are ever wayting upon the king's person) sont appointez et privilegiez et ont en teste le premier homme d'armes de Ffrance. This guard weares white coates, with silver scallop shells, and were formerly called *archers de la garde du corps*, but now are commonly called *hoquetons*. The 3 other companyes of the *gardes du corps* are of the French nation, and each company ought to consist of one hundred. These weare the king's colours, with such devices as hee pleaseth.

There are also 100 *Suisses*, who carry halberds, and weare the king's liveryes, that is, blew, red, and whyte, and are habited according to the fashion of their country.

The regiments of guards are two; one of French, consisting now of 30 companyes of 80 in a company, established in Charles the 9<sup>th</sup>'s time; the other of *Suisses*,


consisting now of fifteene companyes of 100 in a company.

Mareschall Bassompierre was generall of all the Swisses in France, before whom all matters concerning the soldiers of that nation are determined; but since his death, the Mareschall Schomberg, Duke of Aluyn, enjoys the place.


The ordinary horse-guards of the king's person are one company of musquetons, who beare a kind of armes longer and of smaller bore than that wee call a carabine in England. Lewis the 13<sup>th</sup> instituted this guard, and was himselfe their captaine, but they say 'tis now suppress. Two companyes of gensdarmes, and two companyes of light horse.

The king hath also an extraordinary guard of 200; it consisted at first but of one hundred, and are still call'd les cens gentilhommes. They are obliged to bee neare the king's person when hee is in the field, or when otherwise they are called on; and they march under the whyte cornett.

The queene regent hath also her guard of 200 light horse, lately instituted, and confirm'd by the king's edict, to enjoy the same priviledges as his other guards doe, which are, exemptions from tailles, &c.

Every company or troop of gensdarmes or great horse should consist of 200 masters. The officers are, the captaine, leiftenant, enseigne (who carrieth a large pointed colours of this figure ) , guidon (who carries a little colours of the same fashion), and a mareschal de logis, like our quarter-masters; but of more esteeme than those, is a premier brigadier and a second.

Every company or troope of chevaux legers, or of the light horse, should consist of but 50 in a company besides officers. The officers are, a captaine, lieutenant, and

cornett, who carryes a little square colours, as our horse doe in England, of this figure .

The foote carry great square colours, and should consist of 100 in a company, but the French companyes are now supposed to bee but fourscore.

When the king is at the Louvre, his principall house in Paris, every night two of the Scotch guard wayte in the bedchamber. 25 chosen out of each of the 4 companyes of guards, which make up the number of 100, wayte in the salle, that is, the great chamber, and are changed monthly. 25 of the grand prevost's men wayte dayly and nightly in the court; 25 more wayte at the gate, and some of the regiments of guards lye without the gate, constantly in duty. This order is likewise observ'd at all his other houses; and when his majesty goes abroad, some of the light horse ever attend him, part whereof march before him, and part behind.

#### ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD.

THE king's orders of knighthood (for I will not mention the knights of Malta, whereof there is a great number in France) are two;—de S<sup>t</sup>. Michel et du S<sup>t</sup>. Esprit; the first was instituted by Lewis the 11<sup>th</sup>, 1469, in memory of the mount S<sup>t</sup>. Michael in Normandy, which was kept by the archangell against the English; which, being growne too common, and in some contempt, Henry the 3<sup>rd</sup> began that of the Holy Ghost, anno 1570, soe called in memory of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles on Whitsunday, which was fortunate to him, being on that day chosen king of Poland, and likewise on the same day came to be king of France. The order of S<sup>t</sup>. Michael is not abolished, but is only honourable in this, that none

are made knights of the Holy Ghost but take first the order of S<sup>t</sup>. Michaell.

The greatest persons by birth and meritts are honoured with these orders, and many foreigne princes. The number of the knights ought not to exceed 100, besides ecclesiasticks, who may be in number 4 cardinals, 4 archbishops and bishops, and the great almoner of France. They weare the Holy Ghost in the similitude of a dove in a blew ribband about their necks, like the knights of the garter in England weare their george; and some an order with the Holy Ghost embroider'd on the left side of their cloaks in silver: our English knights borrowing that starr from the French, which addition was first taken up by the late Duke of Buckingham.

Thus much for the officers of the king's house, and the state or glory thereof; it remains something bee said of his officers that manage the businesse of the kingdome.

#### SECRETARIES OF STATE.

THE principall of them are the 4 secretaries of state, who are also called *secrétaires de commandements* because they are to signe nothing but by the king's expresse command. They have each of them certaine provinces of the kingdome assigned to them whereof they despatch the affaires, and meddle not in the rest; some of them are for foreign businesses; some for the warr; and some for the king's house; and all their commissions are in nature of offices. They despatch all closed letters, and sealed with the king's little seale. All provisions of the officers of the crowne and governours of provinces and places, all affaires of warr, all edicts and letters pattents concerning affaires of state, gifts of the king, legitimations, naturalizations, pardons, all



church preferments, all passports and safe conducts, and all sorts of graces ; they make the despatches, and instructions of ambassadours ; and all treatyés of peace, or marriages of the king or his children, passe through their hands ; and briefly whatsoever proceeds from the immediate will of the prince and passes not by his councill. They may assist in all counccills, and take place next after bishops, surintendants, and the first president of Paris, preceding all other presidents, and are equally rankt to the knights of the order. In the king's secret counccills they stand, if they bee not ministers of state, but then they sitt and are cover'd. They take one oath to the king as his servants, and another before the chancellour as being secretaries of the crowne ; they enjoy diverse priviledges and exemptions from tailles, and by their places ennoble themselves and their posterities ; for when they enter the offices, few or none of them are gentlemen, but sonnes of the presidents and partizans, it being not the custome in France for persons of good houses to bee pen and inkhorn man, but to take on them only soldierlike employments. Theyr places are usually bought and sold, and are worth forty or fifty thousand pounds sterling apiece.

The present secretary of the warr is Monsieur Tellier, for foreigne affaires Monsieur Servient ; the others are Monsieur de Brienne and \* \* \* \*

#### MASTERS OF REQUESTS.

THE judges of differences betwixt the king's household servants are the masters of requests, who also assist the lord chancelour, as they do the lord privy seale in England and have a table with him. They are also keepers of the seales of the lesser chanceryes of the kingdome, and are

borne presidents of the great councell, and have place in the parliament of Paris and in all other parliaments, and have many extraordinary commissions, as to bee intendents of justice in the provinces and armyes, with many more priviledges, and powers. They are now six and fifty in number.

#### THE KING'S COUNCELLS.

THE king hath severall counsell, in most whereof the lord chancelour is president ; as,

First, le grand conseil, which is now become an ordinary court of justice, and of which something hath beene already spoken.

Secondly, le conseil d'estat, whereinto enter and sit all the princes of the blood by their birth; all the dukes and peeres, cardinals, bishopps, knights of the Holy Ghost, governours of provinces, mareschalls of France, officers of the crowne, secretaries of estate by their dignities, and the masters of requests and presidents of court by their offices, and diverse others by expresse commission. Herein all affaires concerning the estate both within the kingdome and without are agitated, consulted of, and resolved on; and here, as in the chiefe councell, his majestie sitts often in person, and all the orders of this court (which are called arrests) passe in the king's name, Par le Roy en son Conseil, La Reyne Régente sa mere présente; and sometimes Le Roy Estant en Son Conseil de L'Aduis de la Reyne Regente nostre tres-honorée dame et Mère, de nostre Tres-cher Oncle le Duc d'Orleans, de nostre cher cousin le prince de Condé, et de plusieurs grands et notables personages de nostre dit conseil, et de nostre certaine science pleine puissance, et autorité royale : Nous avons déclaré, ordonné, déclarons, et ordonnons,

voulons, et nous plaît, &c. This counsell is like the privy counsell in England.

Thirdly, le conseil privé, ou des parties, pour les affaires évoquées concernant les particuliers, ou règlement des juges sur les conflits de jurisdiction ou autrement.

Fourthly, le conseil particulier, of affaires of estate of great importance and secrecy, whereinto enter not above half a dozen.

Fifthly, le conseil de cabinet, only of the prime minister, Cardinal Mazarin, and sometimes one more is called in.

There is also a conseil des finances, for the direction and disposition of the king's revenues and treasures whatsoever. And here it will bee pertinent to say something of them and of the courts that have the ordinary jurisdiction of them, and of the prime officers that manage them.

#### THE KING'S REVENUES AND OFFICERS THAT MANAGE THEM.

ANTIENTLY the kings of France (as the best French historians testifie) were contented with the revenues of their demesnes to maintaine their house and dignity, and they were abundant sufficient for that purpose. The great expence of warr (if offensive) was undertaken only by consent and assistance of the estates, who when they saw cause, gave subsidies in money, and impos'd and levyed them on themselves by their own officers; at other tymes they levyed and sent to the king such numbers of soldiers as they thought necessary, whom they also paid. If the warr were defensive, such as held of the king were to bee in readyness to defend the king and kingdome, and were obliged to defray themselves for a certaine tyme, which was soe long, that the enemy might probably bee fought withall before the expiration thereof. Charles the 5<sup>th</sup> was

the first king that impos'd anything upon the people by his own authority, which was not resisted by reason of the feare of the English, who then made the warr strongly in France, yet hee rais'd in all his tyme but 300,000 livers, which is about 30,000 pounds sterling. In Charles the 7<sup>th</sup>'s tyme these extraordinary impositions began to bee ordinary but not heavy. The succeeding kings, being still arm'd, had power to increase the old taxes, and to invent what new they pleased, whereby the kings revenues are now become soe vast, that they are almost inestimable. They are either ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary consist now of such rents as are reserv'd upon sale or engagement of the crowne lands (which are all now alien'd excepting the demeasnes of two or three houses and some forests), in the profit of the mint, in confiscations, strangers' goods (call'd aubeines), bastards' goods, and of such as have no heires, in tailles, aydes, equivalents, taillon, imposition foraigne, douane, tenths from the cleargy, the 5 great farmes, le grand party, the sale of offices and places of judicature, the duties paid at resignations of offices and provisions, and the paulette, which is a somme paid for the dispensing with the 40 days which by an old edict officers ought to *live* after their resignations admitted, in impositions upon passages over bridges and rivers, and through townes, duties of faires, entries into townes, and some other things. These revenues being now made certaine and most of them farm'd out, are at this day called ordinary, though they were almost all at first extraordinary illegal taxations, and only set on foote in tymes of warre and high necessities of the kingdome, with promise to lay them downe againe. They amount now (as I have beene enformed by understanding persons) to at least three score millions of livres, which is, at the rate their money now goes at, about fower million and a halfe of pounds sterling.

but to give a guesse at the truth of this computation, I have here added the sommes at which most of these great taxes were farm'd at not long since, as they are in print in French,—

The Tailles, which comprehend the taillon, crües de garnison, and other old taxes for maintaining of the soldiery, is now leavyed by way of generall assessment, in some provinces on lands only, in others it is both reall and personall. It is raised and abated at the king's pleasure, and amounted lately to thirty millions of livers, that is, three millions of pounds sterling per annum.

Les Aydes (and the Equivalent in such provinces where the Aydes have not course, as in Languedoc, Provence, Burgundy, and Brittany) are an imposition of 12 deniers on the liver, or twelve pence in the pound as wee say, that is the 20<sup>th</sup> part on all merchandises and victuals, and particularly on wyne sold in grosse; and the 4<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> penny on wyne sold by retayle. These aydes have their generall farmers in the provinces, and yeilded to the king in the yeare 1633 two millions and almost 800 thousand livres, neare three hundred thousand pounce English. Le Grand Party, which are the gabelles farm'd out in the generalities of Paris, Soissons, Amiens, Chaalons, Roüen, Caen, Orleans, Tours, Bourges, Moulins, and Dijon, amount yearly to five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The gabelles of Languedoc, Provence, Lyonnois, &c., the doüane of Valence, with the introduction of salt into Savoy and Swisserland, was farm'd out anno 1632 for four hundred thousand pound sterling.

Les cinque Grosses Fermes de France, consisting, first, of the duties for the entry of druggs and spices; 2<sup>ndly</sup>, the duties for the entreyes of grosses denrees et marchandises; 3<sup>rdly</sup>, the duties paid at the carrying forth of townes of these 5 sorts of marchandises, viz., corne, wyne, wool,

linnen cloth, and pastel ; 5<sup>th</sup>, the new 5 sols impos'd upon every muid of wine, entrying into walled townes, or great bourgs. These farmes are worth yearly to the king in Normandy, Picardie, Champagne, and Burgundy, about fifteene hundred thousand pound sterling.

L'Imposition Foraine, the customes for all merchandises imported and exported out of the kingdome, and the king's revenue out of salt, which in most provinces of France can bee had from no other but his officers, and that at the rate of thirty or forty shillings at least an English bushell, with the taxes upon wood, syder, perry, hay, and many other species, are too many to bee numbred ; and what hee raises out of the constant sales of offices, and out of these before-mentioned taxations, make up the sum above named of foure millions and a half English money, to which may bee added the tenths from the cleargy, which were first granted to the kings of France by the popes against the Lombards, and for the holy warre, to continue but for some yeares ; but since the civill warres against them of the religion, in the tyme of Charles the 9<sup>th</sup>, they are settled and become perpetuall.

The extraordinary revenue is what the king raises from the creation of new officers of justice, the revenue, or other, when hee pleases to erect any offices or add more officers to the old in any place ; as this present yeare hee raises some millions English by making as many more presidents and conseillers in the parliament and other courts as were formerly ; and also whatsoever somme hee receaves either by way of subsidy from the cleargy, or by loane, benevolence, or imposition on the people for one tyme only.

Thus much for the receipts. His expences were, in the yeare 1626, about five millions sterling ; and in tyme of peace, when the expences were as carefully regulated as

could bee by the Marquis of Vieville's three millions and a halfe. Now to the courts and officers of the revenue.

Le Surintendant General de Finances is the supream officer, and is the same with the Lord High Treasurer in England; Monsieur d'Emery is the present, who is also Comptrolleur, which answers to our Chancellor of the Exchequer. Tresoriers de l'Espargne, to whom is paid whatsoever is spar'd yearly in all the provinces, when all charges upon the receipts are satisfied and the necessities of the kingdome furnished. These are great and honourable offices, and the treasurers pay nothing forth but by the king's command and warrant; and what they do by assignation or otherwise passes not the chambers of acc<sup>t</sup> or the receavers generall without the approbation of the comptroller generall of the finances.

Le Thresorier des Partyes Casuelles payes all hee receaves into the Espargne, and receaves whatsoever comes to the king for the sale of offices, or for his licence to resigne or change them.

Les Thresoriers Generaux de l'Ordinaire de Guerres paye the gendarmerie, and companyes entertained, the wages of commissaryes, controlleurs, prevosts de mareschaux. These treasurers are two in number.

Les Thresoriers Generaux de l'Extraordinaire de Guerres pay all armyes in the field, all officers and soldiers that are not in constant entertainment, all garrisons, for all reparations, fortifications, victualling of places, spies, and all extraordinary expences concerning the warr, as the generalls of armyes, or the governours of provinces, or the king's counsellors, or minister of state give order: they are also two in number.

There are also Thresoriers, that is, receavers generall of the tenths from the cleargy and for the artillery, and

for the king's houses and buildings, and for many other uses, which cannot bee particularly insisted on.

For the assessing, levying, and ordering the king's finances (that is, revenues) which arise from the *tailles*, that is, from the impositions impos'd yearly by the king at his pleasure to bee rais'd from the people, by way of assessment upon lands and persons, the kingdome is divided into 21 *Généralitez* (besides Blois) whereof these 15—Paris, Soissons, Orleans, Amiens, Chaalons, Tours, Poitiers, Limoges, Bourges, Moulins, Riom, Lyon, Roüen, Caen, Bourdeaux, are called the Great *Généralitez*, not because of their larger extent than the others, but because they bring much more revenue to the crowne; the other six, viz. Nantz, Tholouze, Montpellier, Dijon, Aix and Grenoble, being in provinces which are govern'd by estates, that is, where no monyes are rais'd but by the consent of the three estates, as in our parliaments in England (those provinces are Languedoc, Provence, Daupiné, Burgundy, and Brittany). In the 15 Great Generalities are 153 elections, and those elections contain 23798 parishes; and in these 15 generalities there are some 13 or 14 hundred officers called *Eseus*, who asseesse the *tailles* within their severall precincts, and then they are gather'd by collectours in every parish, who pay them over to the receavers, and they to the treasurers in every generality\*.

The supream courts for the king's revenues are *Les Chambres de Comptes*, for the examining and passing of accompts; and *Les Courts des Aydes*, for the distributive justice in all matters concerning the revenue, as the *Exchequer Chamber* is in England.

*Les Chambres de Comptes*, are—1. Paris; 2. Dijon for Burgundy; 3. Roüen for Normandy; 4. Nantes for

\* 270 millions of *livers* were paid in by the *Eseus* throughout France, from the yeare 1626 to the yeare 1647.



Brittany; 5. Grenoble for Dauphiné; 6. Montpellier for Languedoc; 7. Aix for Provence, which is united to the Cour des Aydes there; 8. Pau for Navarre, Bearne, Foix, Armagnac, and L'Albret; 9. Blois for the county of Blois and dutchy of Alençon. The Chamber of Comptes of Paris verifies and registers all apennages of the sonnes of France, all contracts of their king's marriages, and of his children, all gifts exceeding the somme of 3000 livers, all pensions, letters of naturalization, and generally all pattents, edicts, and charters addrest to them; receaves the treasure of the espargne, the accompts of the receavers generall of the finances, of the king's house, of the ordinary and extraordinary for the warr, of the artillery, navyes, of the ligues of the Grisons and Swisses, and many other: and the rest of the Chambres de Comptes doe most of these things within their jurisdictions. They are compos'd of many presidents, masters of accompts, auditours, a king's attorney, and advocate generall, and other officers.

The Courts of Aydes are establiht at Paris, Montpellier, Roüen, Montferrant for Auvergne, Aix, Dijon, Agen for Guyenne, Vienne for Dauphiné, and the parliaments of Grenoble, Rennes, Pau, and Metz, have cognizance of the Aydes in their jurisdictions. The Court of Aydes of Paris consists of 2 chambers, 2 presidents in each, and 26 conseillers, a king's attorney and solicitor, and other officers.

The Courts of Aydes judge all differences and controversies concerning the king's revenues whatsoever, whether betwixt the king and subject, betwixt subject and subject, or betwixt the inferior courts and offices; and receive appeales from the eslections, and other lower judicatoryes of the revenue, whereof there are many bodyes.

## THE MONEYES OF FRANCE.

It will not bee improper here to say something of the moneyes of France, which are of divers sorts, viz. of brasse, brasse and silver mixt, silver, and gold; and of the coines of the country and foreigne coines.

The values of all coines have these last twenty yeares chang'd very often; but still by reason of the great and continuall warres rais'd higher from tyme to tyme. Their owne coines at this tyme authoris'd and currant by the king's edict are first deniers, which are of brasse, and 12 whereof make a *sol*, which is worth about one penny English; then the *sol*, which is the twentyeth part of their liver, or franc, it is most brasse, with a little base silver mixt therewith; then, *cardecues*, (*quart d'ecu*) which are all silver; the old ones goe now for 20 sols, that is a liver; the new ones that are weight for 21 sols. Then *testons* of silver, which want 6 deniers of 20 sols; then their new mill money of silver, which they call *Louyses*, because they were first coyn'd in the latter end of the raigne of the last king Lewys the 13<sup>th</sup>, it is a very handsome coyne, and hath the king's head on it on the one side, like a *Cæsar's* head, and the scutcheon of France on the other; the word is, *Sit nomen Domini Benedictum*. Of these *Louyses* there are severall sorts, the greatest are crownes (*escus*), which are worth 3 livers a-peice; the next are halfe crownes of 30 sols a-peice; then peices of 15 sols, then peices of 5 sols. None of these *Lewyses* are weighed, but the old *cardecues* and *testons*, and all foreine coines, either silver or gold, are weighed. The gold coines of France are the *escus d'or*, which passe now (if they be weight) at 5 livers 4 sols a-peice; and *Louyses* of gold, and halfe *Louyses*, which are made in a mill, and

at this present are not weighed, and goe the whole Louys for 10 livers, and the half for 5. Almost all sorts of forreigne coines of gold and silver are currant in France, at certaine rates appointed by the edict, but the English silver is least knowne, and passes not without difficulty, but on the sea coast of Normandy, and about Calais. The English jacobus, or twenty shillings peice of gold goes now by the edict but for 12 livers, and the 22 shillings peice for 13 livers; but the goldsmiths, or changers, will give at least 10 sols more in a peice. But the foreigne coine most desired and most currant is the Spanish pistoll, which goes now for 10 livers, and the halfe pistolls proportionably.

The goldsmith's and changer's pound containes but 8 ounces, which is called a marc; the ounce containes 24 deniers, and the denier weighs 24 graines.

The kingdome of France being thus secured with lawes, courts of justice, councells, and the sinew of warr—money, it is further fortified against all seditions, intestine commotions, breaches of the peace, and from foreigne invasions, by severall governours, who have power over the militia like the lord-leiftenants of countyes in England, and are likewise call'd lieutenants generaux—leiftenants generall.

#### THE GOVERNMENTS.

THE whole kingdome is divided into 12 great governments, and about as many small ones.

(Here follows a list of them.)

#### THE MILITIA, OR CONSTANT FORCES OF FRANCE BY SEA AND LAND.

IN Francys the 1<sup>st</sup> tyme, legions were settled by him after the Roman manner, throughout all France: they

were seven in number, each of them compos'd of 6000 men; the 1<sup>st</sup> in Normandy; the 2<sup>nd</sup> in Brittany; the 3<sup>rd</sup> in Burgundy, Champagne, and Nivernois; the 4<sup>th</sup> in Picardy; the 5<sup>th</sup> in Daupiné, Provence, Lyonnois, and Auvergne; the 6<sup>th</sup> in Languedoc; the 7<sup>th</sup> in Guyenne; which made in all 42000 foote, whereof there were 20000 \* \* \* \* and the rest pikes and halberdiers. Every legion had 6 captains, who commanded each of them 1000 men, and had a settled pay in peace and warr. Of the 6, one was colonell; and every capitaine had two leiftenants and two ensignes. All these were enroll'd as our trained bands in England, and were free from tailles, and had some small pay. Besides these legions, the king had 50000 in pay in garrisons. But these legions are now vanished, and at this day there are no foote constantly entertained but the regiments of guards, which are in number about 4000, and certaine regiments bearing the names of provinces, as the regiments of Picardy, Normandy, Champagne, &c., which are all compos'd of 20 companyes, and carry whyte colours, as being properly the king's. The other foote beare the name of their colonells—Rambures, Praslin, &c., and are more or lesse, as the king gives extraordinary commissions, and gentlemen undertake to raise them. The infantry have their officers as in other places, from the meanest to the highest, who is called colonell generall of the infantry, and is in present the Duke of Espernon. Their best foote are Gascons, and of Daupiné, and Bas Languedoc, espetially of the mountainous countreys Vivaretz and Cevenes.

But the most famed and redoutable strength of the French is their horse, for the French gentry neither had heretofore, nor have to this day, any inclination to serve on foote. The horse is numerous, and of three sortes, viz. gensdarmes, which we call great horse; chevaux

legers, and carabins. The two first sort march under the king's colours, which are whyte; and some of the gendarmes are called the king's, some the queene's, some Monsieur's, some of other princes and great lords. The gendarmes are in regiments, and every troope (which they call in French, *compagnie*) have their *mareschaux de logis*, that is, quarter-masters; their *premiers* and *seconds* gendarmes; their *enseignes*, like our colours; and their *guidons*, who are another sort of *cornettes* inferior to the *enseignes*. *Les mestres de camp de la gendarmerie* command at least 500 horse, and only march with the *cornette* flying, which is little and square; but the *guidons* are reserv'd for dayes of great battles and solemne occasions. The light horse is not dispos'd into regiments (and hath their colonell generall, and in his absence there is a *mestre de camp* generall to command them), with all the other usual inferiour officers.

The carabins are a new kind of horse, and are not yet soe well settled in France as the former.

For the artillery there is also a great master, who is now a settled officer of the crowne.

The French armyes are well furnish'd with all sorts of pieces, great and small; but the first that were ever seene in France, by the confession of the French writers themselves, were those which Montacute, earle of Salisbury, had at the seige of Mans, anno 1425. These are the ordinary forces. On extraordinary occasions, the king calls the *ban* and the *arrierban*, the forme and duty whereof is very antient; the meaning whereof is no more but the king's summoning all that hold of him directly and immediately their lands and *seignieuries* to serve him at their owne charges 3 months in the kingdome, and 40 dayes out of it, if neede bee for the defence of it; and the cry made publickely to summon them was antiently called *Ban*. The

arrierban is the summons the meane lords give to those that hold of them to come with such armes to attend them as they are bound by their tenures.

The ban and the arrierban have beene diversly call'd in the late King Lewys the 13<sup>th</sup> tyme, but more espetially once, to oppose the Cardinall Infant, when hee made an inroad out of Flanders into Picardy with a very powerfull army, and then, 'tis said, there were presently assembled above 30000 horse extraordinary by the ban and arrierban, which made the cardinall quickly to retreate. The present forces entertained by the king of France are very great. Hee hath constantly in Flanders an army of about 10000 horse, and 12000 foote; in Germany, about 2000 French horse, and 4000 French foote, and about 4000 Germans in pay; in Catalognia, commonly about 4000 horse and 8000 foote; in Piemont, 6000 horse and foote; and besides these armyes, hee hath at least 60000 men in garrisons. For their strength by sea, the king hath commonly 40 or 50 ships in three ports, viz.—Brouage in Guyenne, Brest in Brittany, and Havre de Grace in Normandie. The last Cardinall Richlieu, who was in effect admirall, endeavoured to have made his king glorious by sea as well as land, and to that end caused some goodly ships to bee built of 12 and 15 hundred tunns, carrying 50 and 60 brasse pieces, and bought other of the Hollanders; but hee died before hee could perfect the navy, soe that the French is not formidable by sea in respect of the English and Dutch, yet neither soe weake and contemptible as most of our nation conceive them to bee. The king hath also at Marseille and Tholon, townes situated on the Mediterranean Sea, at least 20 good galleyes, and diverse good ships, well arm'd and mann'd; soe that they are of late become strong enough for the Spaniards in those seas, which formerly they never were.

The last generall of the French galleyes was the Duke of Fronsac, only son to Mareschall Brezé, and nephew to Cardinall Richlieu, who was killed by a cannon bullet about two yeares since, in a sea-fight against the Spaniards; and the young Duke of Richlieu, nephew and heire to the cardinall of that name, who is not yet 20 yeares of age, succeeds him in the charge.

Thus much for the civill and military government of the kingdome of France, there remains only the ecclesiasticall.

#### THE RELIGION AND ECCLESIASTICALL GOVERNMENT.

For the understanding of the true state whereof, wee must know that, since Luther's and Calvin's tyme, now above 100 yeares agoe, two religions have struggled in this kingdome, the Catholicke and the Protestant, or, as they usually call it in France, the Reformed. After many yeares of civill warres, some massacres, and some rebellions, the Catholicke is become the master, and the Protestant only tollerated.

The Roman Catholicke, which is the religion, I say, profest by the king and maintained by publicke authority, is the same with that in Italy, Spaine, and all other countreyes that acknowledge the pope's supremacy, both for doctrine and discipline; but some priviledges are challenged by the French church and king, which consist most in nomination and presentation to abbeyes, bishoprickes, and church livings, and in collecting of tenths and subsidies from the cleargy, and by vertue of antient concordates betwixt popes and some kings of France, the regall power is enlarg'd and the papall diminished. Over these priviledges, and against all innovations of the court of Rome and its agents, the colledge of Sorbonne in Paris is very watchfull, as also the court of parliament there, from

whence some contestations have arisen with the court of Rome, whereby the pope, having not that absolute obedience rendered to him in France as in other kingdoms, and because the Reformed religion is dealt soe gently withall, and diverse leagues and alliances made betwixt the kings of France and Protestants, who are termed heretickes, the French are not accounted by the Italians and Spaniards soe good Catholicckes as themselves.

[Here follows a detailed account of the bishopricks, convents, &c.]

Sum total, archbishopricks in France, 16; bishopricks, 102; parishes, 14,000; abbeyes, 13,056; priories, 12,400; commanderies of Malta, 256; convents of Cordeliers, 700; of other religious orders, 14,077; and the whole revenue of the cleargy is estimated at 104 millions of crownes, which is about 30 millions of pounds sterling.

There were antiently in France vidames (a word derived from vicedomini), who were the bishops' vicars, who superintended their temporall affaires, and became in the end feudall and hereditary, and vassalls of the church; and from them are descended some very noble families, who beare the title still of vidames; as the vidame of Amiens, who belonged to the bishop of Amiens, the vidame of Chartres, and others.

There are also continually three or foure cardinals of the French nation, who are promoted to that dignity most commonly at the nomination and request of the King of France; but at this tyme there is only living the cardinal of Lyons, the cardinals of Richlieu and Rochfoucault being lately dead.

Those of the Reformed religion (so called) are Calvinists, exactly agreeing with the Scotch discipline. The free exercise of their religion was first permitted in France by an edict of Charles the 9<sup>th</sup>, in the yeare 1561, before



the granting of which edict they were punisht with death as heretiques ; yet they encreased dayly in number. This edict quieted not the troubles, but shortly after a bloody civill warre began, and overspread the kingdome, the House of Guyse making themselves, under the king's authority, heads of the Catholicke party, and the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Admirall Chastillon, of the Protestant ; which broyles ceased by the King of Navarre's, Henry the 4<sup>th</sup>'s, succession to the crowne, and his turning Catholicke ; yet notwithstanding his change, by his edict of pacification given at Nantes, an<sup>o</sup> 1598, hee settled the exercise of the Reformed religion, according to certaine articles then agreed upon, whereby (inter alia) the Protestants were to have churches in diverse townes within the walls, and in others in the suburbs, or a league out of the townes ; and all the places where the publicke exercises were allowed were distinctly nominated, and the use elsewhere prohibited. Thus matters were settled, and all continued quiet untill the yeare 1621 ; but from thence to 1629, new troubles dayly arose, and the Protestants secretly treating with foreign princes, and having diverse private consultations amongst themselves, King Lewis the 13<sup>th</sup> set out a prohibition against all such meetings or other publicke counsells wherein they should advise or resolve of any politicall affaires, and requir'd them to admitt his garrisons into their townes and places of strength ; which they refusing, hee made preparations to enforce them, whereupon they had recourse openly to England for assistance, and the warre of the Isle of Ré and of Rochell ensued, wherein the French king became victorious, as is knowne to most now living, those actions hapning in our dayes. After the taking of Rochell, and reduction of the rest of the Protestant holds, the king, for the

settlement of the kingdome, confirmed the edict of Nantes by his edict of July 1629, whereby the Protestants still enjoy the liberty of their consciences, but with no more assurance of the continuance thereof, than that it is not conceav'd good policy for the king to extirpate them, which certainly at this tyme were not very difficult, most of their gallant leaders being dead (as the Duke of Rohan, Soubise, and others) and the chiefe great houses now are become Catholicke, as the Prince of Condé's, the Duke of Bouillon's, the Duke of Lesdiguière's, the Duke of Tremouille's, and Mareschall Chastillon's.

The provinces wherein the Protestants most abound and have many of the nobility and gentry of their opinion, and where they have the freest exercise thereof within many good towns, are, Languedoc, Daupiné, Guyenne, Xaintonge, Poictou, Aulnis, Vivarets, Cevennes, Bearne, and Normandie. In Picardy, Champagne, Burgundy, the Isle of France, and the rest of the provinces of the kingdome, they have some churches, but out of townes, and most of the religion there are of the meaner sort. Since the taking of Rochell the reformed churches have not liberty to assemble themselves to treat of anything but matters of religion and discipline of their churches; and in such conventions (which are called collogues, or provintiall synods, or nationall, according to the extent of the places from whence the deputies of the church are sent) the king hath a commissary, sent and appointed by him to preside, and to assure his majesty that no affaires of estate are there agitated, for which hee is answerable to give account; and soe when any addresse is made to the churches from foreign states, they are to advertise the king thereof; as in the yeare 1644 the parliament of England wrote to them for advice and assistance against the king of England, but

they durst not open the letters, but brought them to the queene regent, who detain'd them.

The number of able fighting men of the Protestants throughout the kingdome is believ'd to bee at least one hundred thousand, and I cannot find them by my observation and inquiry to bee fewer. They are not prohibited the carrying of armes, or keeping them in their houses, but have as great liberty therein as the Catholickes themselves; yet I beleive a watchfull eye is had over them, or at least there is reason to think soe.

For the more equall judging of their suites, and differences either betwixt themselves, or betwixt them and the Catholickes, they have by the edicts of pacification, in most parliaments of the kingdome, *chambres de l'edict*, or *chambres mypartyees*, wherein the one halfe of the judges or a good part of them are of the religion, but this I have more largely spoken of before.

The doctrine of the reformed churches in France agrees in most things with that of England in Queene Elizabeth's tyme; but the discipline or church government differs much from that that was established by act of parliament in England, and is in a manner the same with Scotland and Holland, for they admitt not of bishops, nor have tythes, nor use musicke in their churches, nor the signe of the crosse in baptisme nor otherwise, nor ring in marriage, nor in a word any ceremonyes or ornaments in their churches and prayers. In every congregation they have certaine deacons and seniors, or lay elders, or *antients*, as they call them, who are chosen by the major voice of the whole congregation. These *antients*, together with the ministers of that congregation or church (who are usually two), compose their consistory, from whence issue forth all reprehensions, and excommunications, and other

spiritual orders against any member of that congregation. From the consistoryes appeales may be made to the colloques, which consist of certaine deputed ministers and antients of severall congregations, within a small circuit, who meete twice every yeare : from the colloques one may appeale yet higher to the provincially synods, composed of ministers and antients or lay elders of all the congregations in one province ; and from these assemblyes the last appeale is to the nationall synods, of the same kind of composition of the provincially, but the orders thereof are concluding to all the nation of that belief and profession. The nationall synods were wont to bee assembled every third yeare, but they now observe no certaine tyme of meeting, but upon extraordinary occasions demand the king's consent and permission to assemble, and are not denied it, but the place is appointed by his majesty. In the yeare 1644 a nationall synod of the reformed churches was held at Charenton, within a league of Paris, the king's councill not being willing to permitt them to meete and sitt in any of the remoter provinces in the king's minority, and for their more discommodity appointed the sitting in December, the depth of wynter.

When a congregation wants a minister, some one or more are recommended to them from the other churches, and after they have heard them preach twice or thrice or more, the whole body of the congregation choose him they like best ; and then he is receaved and ordain'd for their pastour by the consistory, and hath an yearly stipend collected for him, amounting to four score or one hundred pound a yeare at the most, for all the tythes and church lands and preferments remaine still in the Catholickes hands.

Out of all that hath beene premised, results that the king of France is a great monarch in extent of dominions,

greater in the fertility and good situation thereof, greater in the incredible populousness of the same, and in their close compaction and adjacency one to another, but greatest of all in his independent sovereignty and being arm'd constantly. Hee owes homage, fealty, or obedience to none but to God, and under him governs absolutely, shining with his owne light, being neither created by the people's, or noble's suffrages, nor upheld by the vulgar affections (w<sup>h</sup> are inconstant) nor by auxiliary forces, which might at some tyme or other put lawes upon him; but his only supporters are wisdom, and the gentry and nobility, who have such priviledges and benefitts from this absolute regall authority, that their owne interest will ever tye them to secure royalty; and they are so numerous and potent, that they may easily doe it, and by this meanes the king's power hath full influence upon all persons and affaires, as well ecclesiasticall as civill, and military.

#### INTERESTS OF FRANCE, AND PRESENT LEAGUES AND ENEMYES.

THE state of France being almost environ'd with the dominions of the house of Austria, which being the last age growne formidable by their great estates in Europe, and conquests and plantations in both the Indies and Africke, and retaining the ill affection to France which the house of Burgundy had from whom they are descended, the great and maine interest of the kings of France is to weaken that house, and espetially the branch of Spaine, as being their nearest neighbour, and most potent. Henry the Second, Francis the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Charles the 9<sup>th</sup>, and Henry the 3<sup>rd</sup> understood this well enough, but either by reason of intestine troubles in their owne kingdome, or the unpropitious conjuncture of affaires in Europe in their

tymes, or perhaps by want of integrity or resolution in their principall ministers, this interest was not well prosecuted in their dayes; but Henry the 4<sup>th</sup> began by leagues to undermine this great colosse of Austria, and before his end had made extraordinary preparations of money and forces to overturne it; but the honour and glory of the worke was reserv'd by Heaven to the raigne of the late King Lewis the 13<sup>th</sup>, and to the wisdom and diligence of the famous Cardinall Richlieu, who applyde himselfe with soe much fidelity and industry thereto, that hee not only disenabled both the Spaniard and the emperour from the offensive part, but disjoynted the very monarchy of Spaine, working the revolts of many principall parts thereof, which are not like in haste to bee reunited; and hath by bringing in the Swedes into the empire and stirring up many free princes and townes of Germany to joyne with them, brought the house of Austria there to a very low condition, and neere an utter ruine.

In order to this great interest, the cardinall's care was first to engage the pope, whose spirituall weapons have many tymes more prejudiced the quiet and glory of France, and of many other kingdomes, than the temporall of the most potent princes; and at Rome hee met with no great difficulty, the interest of the papacy concurring also with that of France to lessen the Spanish greatness; the Venetians also, and most of the petty princes of Italy, had also the same desires, and soe became either assistants or well wishers to the designes of France. But amongst all the states on that side of France, none was soe considerable as Savoy, being the only doore to enter into Milan, and the Spanish dominions in Italy, and therefore the cardinall's deepest policy was employed against that duke; at length hee prevailed soe far as to get him to sell to the

crowne of France, Pignerol, a strong towne, and the key of Piedmont, and after, by degrees, to receive French forces into his countrey, and to joyne some of his owne with them; it was nevertheles believed that the duke only complied soe farr out of feare, still delaying to receave the French into his fortresses and places of strength, but keeping them well mann'd with his owne subjects, hoping to find opportunityes to send them all back into France; but the duke's sodaine death, and his leaving two infant sonns under the tutelage of their mother (sister to the then king of France,) gave the cardinall meanes to assure himselfe of that countrey; for hee soone persuaded or terrified the Dutches to receave her brother's forces into the best of her townes and strengths, and by degrees to engage in an open warr against the Spaniard.

The Spaniard being thus busied toward Italy, and the house of Austria in Germany by the Swedes, and many of the German princes confederated with them, the French bent their greatest forces towards the conquest of Flanders and Arthois, and having a strict league with the Hollanders, had no apprehension of an interruption of the progress of their armes by any foreigne prince but the king of England, who they feard, had all the reason in the world to prevent their growing greate on that side, and had sufficient power to doe it. The cardinall seeing no longer a likelihood of keeping the king of England in the neutrality hee had soe long held, when they advanced soe prosperously in Flanders, is said to have wrought the troubles in Scotland and Ireland, thereby to find the English enough to doe at home; which, whether it bee true or no, is not safe to determine; but the miseryes of our country have been beneficiall to the French, and given them opportunity to make themselves masters of the best part of Flanders

and Artois, and of many other good townes of the kinge of Spaine in other parts, which they could never otherwise have compast: yet, on the other side, their great succeſſe and prosperitie have occasioned the jealousy of their allies the Hollanders, who, finding the Spaniard in the present condition of affairs a lesse dangerous neighbour to them than France, hath this yeare made a peace with Spaine, which hath much prejudiced the French designes.

This powerfull condition the state of France is now in, could never have been attained to without unity at home, which was compast by the wisdom of the foresaid cardinall, though with much difficulty, for the inhabitants of this country were ever mutinous and impatient of government, which innate humour of the people opened the doore first to the Frankes, then to the Normans, then to the English, and, lastly, the Spaniard made use of their divisions to endeavour a conquest of them. The antient cause of their frequent civill commotions (besides the promptness of their natures), was the great power and command of the princes of the blood and other grandees of the kingdome, to whom severall of the kings of France (either out of immoderate affection, or feare, or for ends little politicall and safe to the estate), had given such vast territoryes in fee to them and their heires, with such unlimited and absolute jurisdictions therein, that only a bare homage was reserved to the crowne, which many of those provinces at length disdained to render; and future kings attempting to enforce it, they either were powerfull enough to make resistance of themselves, or they called in foreign princes to their aid, who sometimes made themselves masters of the countreyes of such as invited them, and of other provinces also belonging to the crowne of France. In latter tymes, the diversity of religions occasioned most of the civill warrs in



this kingdom, the Protestant party, or the Reformed, as they are calld in France, being grown soe strong in the reigns of Charles y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> and Henry y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup>, that they were almost able to suppress the Catholicke. All these fomenting causes of rebellions were by that great cardinall removd ; for, having first by force taken Rochell, the maine strength and place of armes of the Protestants, and by subsequent treaties dissolvd their remaining power, and brought them to an entire subjection, hee afterwards, by degrees, soe humbled the grandees, even the Catholickes themselves, that the greatest families are now but images of what they were in old tyme, and utterly unable to affront the royall authority.

The crowne of France hath leagues and alliances with Suethland, Poland, England, Denmarke, all the Protestant princes of Germany, the state of Holland, the new king of Portugall, the Pope, Venetians, Savoy, Florence, Parma, Modena, Russia, and a strict amity and correspondence with the Turke, and warr only with the House of Austria and its most passionate confederates, whereof the Duke of Bavaria is the prime \* \* \* \*, whereby it prosecutes its true interest ; and, from what has been said before, it is manifest the cheife designes of the king of France are, by a constant warr, not only to keepe the unquieft spiritts of his owne people in action abroad, and, by being still armed, to awe the commonalty, and draw what treasures he pleases from them, but to make conquests upon the House of Austria, as tyme and accidents afford best oportunityes ; but 'tis conceavd his principall aime is at Flanders, and some parte of Germany, and that hee warrs elsewhere but for diversion ; first, because Flanders and Germany are nearest hand, and most open and easy of accesse ; 2<sup>dly</sup>, because they are remote from the Spaniard, and soe from succours and defence ; 3<sup>dly</sup>,

because the princes of Italy are soe wise and cautious as not to permit him to enlarge too much on that side, though they like well enough to see some French forces there to ballance the Spanish power ; 4<sup>thly</sup>, because conquests in Spain itselfe will bee both difficult and costly, both because the barrennes of Catalognia and Guipuscoa, which are the only passages into Spaine, will hinder their armyes to subsist long without excessive charges in bringing victuals and other provisions from other places ; and because the rudenes and unevennes of those countreyes are incommodious and dangerous ; and for that the Spaniard, seeing the fire at home in his house, will bestirr himselfe the more vigorously to quench that than any other ; 5<sup>th</sup>, because the French have greater assistances from the Swedes, and other of their allies, towards Germany and Flanders, than elsewhere, whereby their progresses on that side are facilitated ; 6<sup>th</sup>, because they have some titles and antient pretensions to those parts ; 7<sup>th</sup>, because their conquests on that side open a way to the empire, or at least to make them arbitrators of the affaires of all Germany ; 8<sup>th</sup>, because their conquests in Flanders would make them powerfull by sea, where they are not yet soe absolute ; and 9<sup>th</sup>, because their conquests there would secure the back doore, I meane, leave no port open to England to land at, and enter into France with an army.

Whether some or all of these, or other, were the motives, wee see by experience that in these late warres they have still employed their greatest and constantest forces upon those parts, and very prosperously. For they have surpris'd the whole dutchy of Loraine, and keepe it, the duke Charles being now become but a stipendiary in Flanders. They enjoy almost all Alsatia ; have garrisons in Brisac, Colmar, Benfeld, Filisbourg ; have Spires, Wormes, Mentz, Bachrag, Landau, at their devotion, and in a word, com-

mand the Rhyn as farr as Coblentz. They have Theonville in Luxembourg, Sedan, a strong place, Arras, Dourlans in Artois; Gravelin, Dunkerke, Ypres, and other townes and forts in Flanders. Besides, towards Spaine they have Barcelona, the cheife towne and port of Catalognia, and most of that province; they have Perpignan and Salsas, the two old frontier townes belonging to the crowne of Spaine towards Languedoc; all the county of Roussillon; Pignerol in Piedmont; Casal in Montferrat, garrisons in Turin, and most of the best places of Savoy and Piedmont; some places in Tuscany; and were lately in y<sup>e</sup> citty of Naples itself, where the duke of Guyse commanded the revolted Neapolitans in cheife, but they have been since soe wise as to returne to their due obedience to their owne prince; which example, God send other countreyes so happy as to imitate.

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After a table of the ancient names of places, &c. in France, comes another of the weights and measures in use in 1648;—and, lastly, an outline of the routes and distances from Paris to the principal towns and frontier places, from which the following extracts are taken:—  
“There is not in the world so good accommodation for travellers as in France, either in respect of the multitude of good inns and lodgings, or as to posts, coaches, horses to hire by the day, messagers who goe weekly from one great towne to another, and carry all manner of trunks and necessaryes wherever you goe, and he finds for you horses and diet at a certaine rate set downe by the king's order.—The ordinary charge of the posts is 20 sols for every horse every post. Hee carryes small cloak baggs into the reckoning. Scotchmen and French pay not so much.

“ From Calais to Paris, every one that comes by the messenger has to pay, according to the king's order, for his horse, diet, and lodging, 36 livers, and 5 sols the pound for his hardes, that is, his baggage ; but every one is allowed six pound weight without paying any thing for it.

“ From Rouen to Paris in the coche, which is like the English waggon, every one payes merely for his place in the coche five livers, for the carriage of the hardes half sol per pound.

“ From Rouen to Paris in the carosse, which is the same with a coach in England, for every place \* \* \*. The messenger goes all the yeere long in two dayes from Rouen to Paris ; but the coche and carosse make three dayes of it in the wynter.

“ There are no postes establisht from Dieppe to Rouen ; you must hire horses by the day thither : it is 12 leagues, a good daye's journey. You dine at a poor village called Tostes in the middle way,” &c. &c.

## EROCLEA, OR THE MAYD OF HONOUR.

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A ROMANCE bearing the above title was written by Sir Henry North of Mildenhall, the maternal grandfather of the speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer; and the MS. remains in my hands. The 17<sup>th</sup> century was an age well calculated to produce eccentric characters among the gentlemen of England. A thirst of classical knowledge, and a desire to study the works and characters of antiquity had been widely diffused during the reign of Elizabeth: these still retained a strong ascendancy,—while a restless spirit of inquiry, putting forth its feelers on every side, touching curiously the tenderest subjects of politicks and theology, and working its way to the true principles of science and philosophy, distinguished the times of her successor. In the national literature there was an abundance of strength and fancy, though running exuberantly, and often extravagantly, wild, and the taste of the upper classes was vitiated by the rage of admiration with which the *Astrea* of D'Urfé had been welcomed in England as well as in France; a rage which was prolonged by the elaborate performances of Gomberville and others, and, finally, by the *Grand Cyrus* of Mad<sup>lle</sup>. de Scuderi.—The time of James the 1<sup>st</sup> was one of transition; the fashions and habits and sentiments of men were changing, as well as their literary tastes and their political opinions: there

was a fermenting of discordant ingredients, and men in general tended to extremes, whether in religion, politicks, or tastes, or finally in their characters. In 1609, Sir Henry North was born, and he seems to have been largely influenced by the circumstances of his times. His immediate predecessors had been sturdy old knights, and approved good soldiers in the Low Country wars, but the struggle between the king and the parliament began while he was young; and like his cousin Dudley, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Lord North of Kirtling\*, Sir Henry seems to have inclined at

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\* This Lord North published, in 1645, a volume of Essays, Meditations, &c., which he entitled "A Forest of Varieties." It contains many passages that indicate a cultivated mind, and clear abilities, as well as an amiable disposition; and as this book is now very little known, I am tempted to present to my reader a short extract from the latter part of his work, dated in August, 1637, when Lord North already writes in the tone of a worn out and decaying man; yet he lived till 1666, when he sunk into the grave with the snows of 85 winters on his head.

EXTRACT FROM LORD NORTH'S "FOREST OF VARIETIES."

It is good to referre ourselves to God, who best knows what is good for us. In the discourse of death, I fell in my first manhood to affect that kinde which was least long and languishing (supposing ever a constant preparation), but it hath pleased God contrariwise, that I have spent a great part of my time facing and struggling with seeming imminent death, so farre have I been from injoying the pleasures and contentments that this world affordeth to others. I humbly thank God who hath given me patience, and without his grace and respect to him, my resolution could never have undergone it. Melancholy, the taint and canker of our mindes, bodies, and fortunes, how many wayes and easily art thou contracted! how almost impossible to be cured!

first to the popular cause. But when the contest grew mortal, and the pretensions of the parliamentary leaders evinced decidedly a democratical tendency, he appears to have become disgusted, and to have hidden his desponding head in the solitude of his lonely house ; giving himself up to that strange mixture of literature which was in vogue,—pursuing as the business of his life interminable lawsuits with his neighbours, and as his recreation the weaving of political fantasies, and the composing a work which no human being, since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, could ever have had the patience to read. This performance, Eroclea, fills a stout folio volume containing about 640 pages, written in

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how inevitably incident to many, yea the strongest minde, especially when many perplexities and cross accidents doe at once assault them !

For my part, besides my mischievous disease bred in my body, which naturally working upon the minde made all more sowre and difficult, I met with crosse ambiguities and indications in almost all that concerned me, or that I affected. I confesse (that which now more tormenteth me) a resolution and course might have been taken to have prevented, in reason, the unhappinesse which I have found and bred ; but, *alasse*, I was nipt in my bud, destitute of experience and good advise, met with times opposite, and such a disposition of my own as could neither abandon itself to pleasure, nor rigid enough to profit, though ever so sensible therein, as never to allow myself a ruinous delight. My expences had never the ground of pleasing myself, though our artificiall humane condition be full of ambiguity, and some minde more than others of various complection. Yet, had I mist my disease, I might, with God's grace, as well as another, have extricated myself : a soul hard to please and a pregnant fancy, are of the most troublesome guests a man can lodge. I have at length learnt so to disaffect this world and worldly pleasure, that, by God's grace, I am onely pleased in him.

a remarkably fine and close hand : if printed at the present day, it would occupy some six or seven goodly octavos. The mind of the writer was evidently full of the events and characters of the civil war, but his ambition and his taste prompted him to a laborious imitation of the French romancers. His scene is laid in Attica, in the time of Alexander the Great : there are classical names and designations in abundance, but the book consists mainly of long-drawn discussions and speculations on politicks, intermingled with descriptions of masques and allegories, the ceremonials of courts, and the hunting of the stag, with elaborate designs of country seats and trim gardens, according to the fashion of the times and the taste of the writer. Many little bits of poetry are introduced, from which I select a few of the best specimens ; and I venture to add two or three extracts from the romance itself, which may serve to give my reader some faint idea of what Eroclea is, and what style of writing could then command admiration ; for, that such writings did still find admirers, I have reason to infer, from the numerous sonnets and complimentary lines which I find addressed “ to the learned and ingenious author of the Mayd of Honour.”



## FROM EROCLEA.

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SAY not to mee thou art in love,  
While fancy, and not reason, doth thee guide :  
Hee that will tell mee, hee must dye,  
And knowes not why,  
Hee may in torment ever more abide :  
My heart hee cannot move.

If't be the lustre of mine eye,  
Or beauty, which with love his heart doth fill ;  
I doe but please his sense, and fitt  
His appetitt :  
If this be all, farewell ! I will be still  
Diana's votary.

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See but that lovely blushing rose,  
How sweet it smells !  
But if it lose  
That blushing quality,  
Then all its fragrancy  
Is gone, and there noe longer dwells :

Soe 'tis with faire virginity,  
Whilst it retains  
A blushing modesty,  
'Tis lovely ; but if art  
Steps in, and that depart,  
Nothing of fragrancy remains.

## SONG IN PARTS.

*Alithea.*—Fly, foolish fancy, from this sacred place!  
And thou, fond lover, get thee home apace.

*Threnodia.*—Drowne all thy passions in a flood of teares,  
Thy vanityes, lusts, jealousyes, and feares.

*Hermogenes.*—If thou wilt bee admitted heere, be sure  
Thou harbour not a thought that is impure.

*Chorus.*—Let all chast soules draw neare their vowes to pay,  
For this is great Diana's holiday.

(*Alith.*)—Goe sigh—(*Thre.*) Goe mourne—(*Herm.*) Repent  
and turne

(*Cho.*)—From all thy foolish wayes.

(*Alith.*)—Then love—(*Thre.*) and peace—(*Herm.*) Content  
and ease

(*Cho.*)—Thou shalt have all thy dayes.

*Chorus.*—Let all chast soules, &c.

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Hee that hath seene a tall ship under saile  
To which all lower vessels strike and vaile;  
Or view'd a lofty cedar in a wood,  
O'erlooking all that round about it stood:  
Or marked a turret mounted on a hill,  
Commanding all that is beneath at will;  
Or hath beheld a standard in the field,  
To which all ensignes doe obedience yeild;  
May fancy to himselfe what 'tis to bee  
A favourit still in his dignity.

But when this stately ship is torne  
 With cannon bullets, and her maine mast borne  
 Overboard, all her tackling spent, and shee  
 Sinking into the deepe. When this great tree  
 Is hewne downe at the root, and layd more low  
 Than any shrub. When a close mine shall blow  
 This turret up, and it resolve to dust.  
 When the cheife standard's taken, then wee must  
 Conclude that all is lost: reproach and shame  
 Is all that's left to this great favourite's name:  
 His friends all wish hee had noe memory.  
 Then who upon such terms would climbe soe high!

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This way, that way, heere or there,  
 Round about, or any where;  
 You may walke, laugh, sing, or play,  
 And your pretty wagers lay;  
 Put forth riddles, tell your dreames;  
 Whisper softly as the streames  
 That glide by, in each other's care  
 What you hope or what you feare.

Heere a pale and panting lover  
 Freely may his thoughts discover  
 By sighs, or words, or how hee please,  
 Till his heart be more at ease.  
 There a lady may be kind,  
 Or quarrell if she have a mind;—  
 Chuse your path and talke your fill,  
 This way, that way, where you will.

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Forbeare, fond man, forbear !  
 Thou art not practis'd in the school of love :  
 'Tis not a sigh, nor yet a teare,  
 Noe, nor a discontented looke  
     Can her heart moove  
 To pitty thee ; oh noe, thou hast mistooke.

When thou would'st have her love,  
 Preserve thyselfe an object for her eye  
     To feed upon ; and let her prove  
 Thy heart by striving how to please,  
     And gratify  
 Her curious fancy, 'till shee be at ease.

If wit and beauty be  
 The object of thy love, why shouldst not thou  
     Thinke shee'l expect the same from thee !  
 Beleev't, a sullen frowning face  
     And cloudy brow  
 Makes thee show flatt, and doth thy parts disgrace.

If then thou wouldst meet love,  
 Spruce up thyselfe, and keepe thy wit in play :  
     Let nothing to disorder move  
 Thy thoughts, nor seeme offence to take  
     In any way :  
 Thus doth a lover a true lover make.

Care-charming sleepe, descend and gently glide  
     Into the temples of this sacred head,  
 Let dewes of thy refreshing vapours slide  
     Into his breast ; and slumber sit as lead  
     Upon his eyelids ; till it binds  
     His senses up, and his soule finds  
     Her selfe and all her facultyes at rest.

Let no unquiet envious dreame  
 Possesse his fancy, nor once move a thought  
 To stir ; but drench it sweetly with the streame  
 Of thy distilling moisture ; let noe doubt  
 Perplex his mind, or make him start :  
 Nor trembling feare come neare his heart ;  
 Till Phœbus rises in his glory dress'd.

But if a dreame must needs his sence invade,  
 Let it be like the kisses of a bride ;  
 Gentle and pleasing as a refreshing shade,  
 After a scorching sun ; let musique guide  
 His wandering fancy, and at his eare  
 Stand centinell ; letting come neare  
 Noe noise, but what hee most delights to heare.

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EXTRACT.

“The Court being set, and placed both in order and silence, there issued forth in their view, as from a vault underneath ye roome, a monstrous fowle Hagg, her face sooty and swarthy, her haire snarled and hanging about her eares, with filthy snakes and adders, twining about her locks : who as soone as she was crept out, looked every way round about her ; and after a little pause, Oh, s<sup>d</sup> she, all is well enough, I perceive there is no danger, & forthwith called with a loud hoarse voice at ye same doore from whence shee came forth,

Come (my Girles) let 's take our pleasure,  
 Heere on Earth, while wee have leysure ;  
 Heere 's no God to keep us in awe,  
 Nor Goddesses to give us a Law ;  
 If Mortals doe against us rise,  
 All their power we can despise.

Upon her call there issued forth six Hell hounds, as bad as her selfe : there was in ye first place, Terache or Tumult, darke in visage, and all over her as Hell it selfe, her haire disordered, a fowle troubled countenance, and holding a naked sword in her hand. Next her, Peira or Danger, halfe naked, and ye rest of her garm<sup>ts</sup> torne, with a wolf's skin about her shoulders : then came Doulosis or Servitude, leane and meager, with a yoke about her neck ; after her Dyspragya or Unhappiness, pale and hollow, with a Raven upon her shoulder ; then Erythia or Contention, with an angry dogged countenance, a pen and ink-horne by her side, and a written paper stuck in her bosome : and lastly, Dycostasia or Sedition, with a fiery face, and holding a firebrand in her hand ; these six with Pthone or Envy, their dame, in ye midds't of them, began to dance ill favourdly to a hideous kind of musique ; w<sup>ch</sup> was composed of discords on purpose to meet such an unhandsome performance. Their wild dance being ended, Envy called to them againe—

Come let 's now infect the aire,  
And spot each face that heere is faire ;  
Wee'll blow upon them with our breath,  
And soe poison them to death.

Having soe vented her Hellish malice, shee drew them all forthwith about her ; and began to blow fiercely and furiously upon ye company, and soe continued ; 'till on ye sodaine Hymen with a silver wand in his hand appeared ag<sup>st</sup> them ; and looking severely and sternly upon them, said thus :

Fly yee Haggs out of my sight ;  
I'll not endure your Hellish spight ;

I had this day a sacrifice,  
Which was pleasing in mine eyes ;  
And those who did soe well me serve,  
From your malice I'll preserve.

Hereupon they all vanish'd and tumbled down disorderly into y<sup>e</sup> place from whence they came ; w<sup>ch</sup> being done, Hymen moved his wand upward ; and instantly a sweet harmony of soft musique, was heard as from the spheres : whereupon the roofe of y<sup>e</sup> house opening in y<sup>e</sup> middle, there appeared something in y<sup>e</sup> shape of a great cloud, w<sup>ch</sup> by descending by degrees, on y<sup>e</sup> top of it were discerned to sit in a round circle, six nymphs of a glorious aspect, and something like a cherubim standing in y<sup>e</sup> midst therof, with a crowne of roses placed on y<sup>e</sup> head of it ; w<sup>ch</sup> all ye way as they discended, sung these following words," &c. &c.

## EXTRACT.

To this, Nicanor briefly replied, " Sir I doe easily beleive w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> say touching y<sup>e</sup> manner of trials in those Easterne Countreyes, and I can as easily grant you y<sup>t</sup> this kind of way of dispatching of men, makes y<sup>e</sup> Emperour y<sup>e</sup> more formidable, and keeps his estate in y<sup>e</sup> greater security ; but whither his person be ever y<sup>e</sup> more in safety may be some question, for w<sup>t</sup> propriety I beseech you all this time have this poore people either in their lives, lybertyes, or fortunes, under such a Governm<sup>t</sup> ? are they not meere vassails, or at best, tenants at will ? for they are subject 'tis plaine at all times, to any malicious undermining persons y<sup>t</sup> have any desigune upon them or their estates, who if the Judge be corrupted or failing in his judgm<sup>t</sup> through age or impotency (than w<sup>ch</sup> nothing is more ordinary), are sure to have their ends, and to prevaille

against them : but this other way, if they do not corrupt twelve men (w<sup>c</sup> with us is very penall if it can be proved) they cannot be able to work soe great a mischeife. And soe likewise is it in matters of livelyhood as well as life, for how many men thinke y<sup>e</sup> would forfeit their estates upon trifles and undue suggestions, if y<sup>e</sup> law did not enable jurors to judge of y<sup>e</sup> credit of those y<sup>t</sup> doe informe or depose in such cases ? Now these jurors, I must tell you, are intended to be men both of credit and substance, and indifferent altogether as to y<sup>e</sup> persons betwixt whom they are sworne, either y<sup>e</sup> king or y<sup>e</sup> subject, or betwixt party and party, and altogether unconcerned. Also, they are to be their peeres, that is not much their superiours nor much their inferiours. As for y<sup>e</sup> purpose a nobleman is to be tried by those of his owne ranke, a gentleman by persons of y<sup>e</sup> same quality, and a comoner by y<sup>e</sup> comons ; not every comoner by men of his owne profession, y<sup>t</sup> is not y<sup>e</sup> meaning of it, but those of his owne ranke ; soe that it is not necessary this citizen should be tried by those of his owne craft or trade, but by some under y<sup>e</sup> degree of y<sup>e</sup> nobility, and yet persons of good quality alsoe, because he beareth an office, and is in a place of some dignity. And I verily perswade myselfe y<sup>e</sup> vice roy in this case will goe to worke in y<sup>e</sup> exact legall tract and noe other, for he is a true lover of justice and y<sup>e</sup> due administration thereof. Nay that's most certain, s<sup>d</sup> Praotes, I never knew any man of a more square and even composition (to my thinking) in all my dayes, soe y<sup>t</sup> in my conscience if any thing be amisse under his governm<sup>t</sup>, it must be through y<sup>e</sup> default of his ministers and not himselfe. Y<sup>e</sup> judge very right of him, S<sup>r</sup>, s<sup>d</sup> Nicanor, but yet beleve mee he hath a very hard taske of it heere, for y<sup>e</sup> people are very peevish and stubbourne, and of late grown exceeding factious, in soe much as I have heard my L<sup>d</sup> Agathocles say (who truly in



my opinion is one of y<sup>e</sup> ablest men of judgment in y<sup>e</sup> world) y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Athenians were y<sup>e</sup> hardest people to be governed in all Greece, and y<sup>t</sup> it must be either great policy or great power y<sup>t</sup> can keep them in order. Troth, s<sup>d</sup> Praotes, hee is undoubtedly in y<sup>e</sup> right, but might hee not also (say ?) y<sup>t</sup> noe earthly policy is able to rule a rich and numerous people without power to back it? and have been much more in y<sup>e</sup> right think'st thou? for my part I tell thee I can very hardly be persuaded out of y<sup>t</sup> opinion. I know not w<sup>t</sup> to thinke on't, S<sup>r</sup>, s<sup>d</sup> Nicanor, 'tis thereafter as y<sup>e</sup> humour and y<sup>e</sup> temper of y<sup>e</sup> people be: y<sup>e</sup> best of it is, wee want neither counccills nor strength about the court; therefore I hope wee shall shift well enough. 'Tis a good hearing, s<sup>d</sup> Praotes, then honest men may sleep y<sup>e</sup> more securely," &c. &c.

## EXTRACT.

When hee came in, hee found y<sup>e</sup> paper had beene but newly opened; & Nicanor, who presented it, just then comanded to withdraw. As soon as it was read, before ever y<sup>e</sup> generall or y<sup>e</sup> provost could have time to speake a word to it, Philologus let fly at it: heere is a fine peece of stuffe, s<sup>d</sup> hee, suitable to all wee ever had or can expect from him: w<sup>t</sup> does hee tell us of y<sup>e</sup> knowne lawes? if we sit downe to y<sup>t</sup>, canot hee make y<sup>e</sup> lawes as hee hath a mind to it? have wee not had experience plentiful enough of these things? sure I am, hee takes it upon him to lord it over us; & as long as hee hath power to doe soe, wee are everlastingly at his mercy, both for our lives & our estates: noe (my lord) s<sup>d</sup> hee to y<sup>e</sup> generall, all this is but a little court holy water cast upon us; I hope your excellency & this grave assembly are too wise to bee cheated thus. Wee have now a considerable p<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> strength of Achaia in our hands;

and if hee will consent to let us hold soe much of it as wee may be able to make our defence when wee find ourselves oppressed, & call our adversaries to account for y<sup>e</sup> injuries they doe us, wee may then hearken to some other termes of pacification ; but, till y<sup>t</sup> be granted, for my part I am for standing out soe long as I have a penny in my purse, or a drop of blood left in my body. This, though it was spoken in a great heat, was seconded by Pragmaticus with y<sup>e</sup> like earnestnesse. “ My lord,” said hee, “ hee talkes heere y<sup>t</sup> none shall be imprisoned but by y<sup>e</sup> knowne lawes of y<sup>e</sup> land ; I pray by w<sup>t</sup> law was I imprisoned ? and how could y<sup>e</sup> words I spake amount to treason, within the construction of any written law ? Oh ! sayes his attorney, y<sup>t</sup> offence is treason by y<sup>e</sup> comon law. The comon law ! what’s y<sup>t</sup> ! a thing wrapp’d up in y<sup>e</sup> breasts of a few men y<sup>t</sup> depend upon him, & delivered by them as occasion serveth ; w<sup>ch</sup> way they thinke best pleaseth him. Again hee tells us heere, y<sup>t</sup> noe money shall be levyed without our cons<sup>ts</sup> : who will beleive him ? Nay (my L.), may wee not justly affirme, y<sup>t</sup> wee are evermore thus unsafe, when y<sup>e</sup> government is wrested out of y<sup>e</sup> people’s hands, where it ought of right to reside ? Doe wee not find by experience y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> court onely gives us faire words till they have occasion to use our money ; & then if those will not prevaile, they take it from us whither wee will or noe : therfore y<sup>t</sup> worthy gentleman who spoke last is questionles in y<sup>e</sup> right. Let us have wherewithal to vindicate & right ourselves, when wee are injured, in y<sup>e</sup> first place, and then wee may treat further as shall be thought fit.”



## MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

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FROM ALEXANDER POPE TO THE EARL OF  
STRAFFORD.\*

(*July, 1725.*)

MY LORD,

Your Lordship will be surprised at my impudence in troubling you in y<sup>r</sup> repose and elegant retirement at Boughton. You may think I could only do so at Twit'nam. And much less could you expect disturbance from any but a living bad neighbour. Yet such, my Lord, is now y<sup>r</sup> case, that you are to be molested at once by a living and a dead one. To explain this riddle,—you may find it very inconvenient on a Sunday (your usual day of rest

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\* At the death of Frderick Thos. Wentworth, the last Earl of Strafford, in 1799, his estates and Castle of Wentworth devolved on his sister, Mrs. Kaye, who was succeeded in 1802 by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Conolly, nephew of the 3<sup>d</sup> Earl. The four letters from Pope, which are now presented to the public, were found amongst the other papers at Wentworth Castle by Mr. Conolly, who gave them to his niece Emily Napier, now Lady Bunbury.

here) not only to be prest in upon in an evening by me, but shoulder'd in a morning at church by S<sup>r</sup> Godfrey Kneller and his huge lady into y<sup>e</sup> bargain. A *monition* (I think they call it) from y<sup>e</sup> D<sup>m</sup> Commons was publish'd here last Sunday, wherein that pious widow desires their leave to pull down y<sup>e</sup> tablet I set up at y<sup>e</sup> head of y<sup>r</sup> lordship's pew, to fix there a large one to S<sup>r</sup> G. and herself, with both their figures. If y<sup>r</sup> lordship shoud really chance to take no great pleasure in beholding my name full before y<sup>r</sup> eyes (which I should not wonder at), yet at least (dangerous as that name is, and dreadful to all true Protestant ears), it cannot incommode you so much as a vast three-hundred-pound pile projecting out upon you, overshadowing my Lady Strafford with y<sup>e</sup> immense draperies and stone petticoats of Lady Kneller, and perhaps crushing to pieces your lordship's posterity! This period sounds very poetical; and yet Reeves seriously tells me, and allows me to tell y<sup>r</sup> lordship as seriously, that the main wall at y<sup>r</sup> pew will be greatly in danger of falling by y<sup>e</sup> addition of such a tomb. What I have to beg of y<sup>r</sup> lordship as a favour is, that you will please to declare your dissent and objection, directing a few lines only in general to that effect as your commands to Mr. Pearson, proctor in the D<sup>m</sup> Comons, and inclose it to me

at Twitnam. They have appointed the *thirtieth of this month* for such of y<sup>e</sup> parish as have any objections, to show them in court, otherwise y<sup>e</sup> licence will be given her. I thought fit first of all to apply to you, my Lord, who (I would fain persuade myself) will be concernd ag<sup>st</sup> it, next to me ; not only as the neerest neighbor to it, but as y<sup>e</sup> person I w<sup>d</sup> hope w<sup>d</sup> most favour me. The innovations upon all sorts of property, and y<sup>e</sup> dangers of ill precedents of all kinds, are what your lordship is a well-known opposer of: I hope you will not be so y<sup>e</sup> less though it is but the particular cause of one, who so justly and so sincerely respects and honours you.

I am, my Lord,  
 Your Lordship's most obedient  
 and most obligd  
 Humble Servant,  
 A. POPE.

My mother joins in her faithful, humble services, and in my petition for your PROTEST, a word y<sup>r</sup> lordship is of late well acquainted with.

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Tewinam, July y<sup>e</sup> 6.*

MY LORD,

I deferr'd acquainting your lordship with y<sup>e</sup> process of y<sup>e</sup> affair ab<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> tomb till I could receive from my proctor and from Mr. Pigot some particulars of y<sup>e</sup> first court-day, w<sup>ch</sup> is but just over. I find my lady has a mind to make y<sup>e</sup> point as *personal* as she can with *me*, thereby to disengage herself from any opposition from y<sup>e</sup> parish, and to pass over (if possible) y<sup>e</sup> merit of pretensions in general to property in monuments (the injustice of w<sup>ch</sup> your l<sup>d</sup>ship very reasonably animadverts upon in y<sup>e</sup> letter you favord me with; for it ruins at once all y<sup>e</sup> design of dying men, or their survivors, to perpetuate their memories by y<sup>e</sup> certain fixing of inscriptions as a property) my lady, I say, has therefore pretended, in her new allegation (w<sup>ch</sup> is to be exhibited next Saturday), that besides there being no other place (y<sup>t</sup> she likes) for her monum<sup>t</sup> but that over y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup>ship's pew, she claims it by a *promise pretended to be made by me to S<sup>r</sup> Godfrey on his deathbed*. Now if the D<sup>n</sup> Comons, upon such evidence as she shall bring, shall order hers to be erected, the injury as well as impertinence would still remain y<sup>e</sup> same towards y<sup>r</sup> l<sup>d</sup>ship (whose

consent ought doubtless to have been asked as well as mine.) And y<sup>e</sup> injury to property too, & y<sup>e</sup> ill precedent is y<sup>e</sup> same. So whatever she may bring her butler to say (w<sup>ch</sup> Mr. Pigot tells me is her design) of S<sup>r</sup> Godfrey's understanding y<sup>t</sup> I consented to it, it w<sup>d</sup> only amount to make it seem that I had done foolishly, but no way obviate the general or particular objections of any other who should enter his caveat against it. But the only ground of this silly pretence of hers is what follows: I will tell y<sup>r</sup> l<sup>d</sup>ship the story as shortly as I can: the particulars would make you smile (w<sup>ch</sup> I hope to tell you at Boughton). S<sup>r</sup> Godfrey sent to me just before he dy'd. He began by telling me he was now convinc'd he could not live, and fell into a passion of tears. I said I hop'd he might; but y<sup>t</sup> if not, he knew it was y<sup>e</sup> will of God, and therefore wou'd do his best to resign himself to it. He answer'd w<sup>th</sup> great emotion, *No, no, no, it is the evil spirit.* The next word he said was this,—*By God, I will not be buried in Westminster.* I asked him why? He answered, *They do bury fools there.* Then he s<sup>d</sup> to me, My good friend, where will you be buried? I said, Wherever I drop; very likely in Twitnam. He reply'd, So will I; then proceeded to desire I w<sup>d</sup> write his epitaph, w<sup>ch</sup> I promised him. It would be



endless to tell y<sup>r</sup> l<sup>d</sup>ship y<sup>e</sup> strange things he suggested on that head: it must be in Latin, that all foreigners may read it: it must be in English too, &c. I desir'd him to be easy in all that matter, I w<sup>d</sup> certainly do y<sup>e</sup> best I c<sup>d</sup>. Then he desir'd me that I would take down my father's monum<sup>t</sup>, *For it was y<sup>e</sup> best place in y<sup>e</sup> church to be seen at a distance*. This (as y<sup>r</sup> l<sup>d</sup>ship may well imagine) surprised me quite. I hesitated and s<sup>d</sup> I fear'd it w<sup>d</sup> be indecent, and y<sup>t</sup> my mother must be asked as well as I. He fell crying again, and seem'd so violently moved, that in pure humanity to a dying man (as well as to one I thought *non compos*), I w<sup>d</sup> not directly persist in denying it strongly, but begg'd him to be easy upon y<sup>e</sup> whole, and said *I* would do for him all that I could *with decency*. Those words, and that reserve, I can swear to; but y<sup>r</sup> lordship sees y<sup>e</sup> whole fact (represented, upon my word, with y<sup>e</sup> strictest truth) upon w<sup>ch</sup> this idle woman w<sup>d</sup> ground her answer, of w<sup>ch</sup> I was accidentally informed by Mr. Pigot.

I have scarce room left, my Lord, to express what my mind is full of, y<sup>e</sup> sense of y<sup>r</sup> favour in general, and of the unmerited honour you do me in your letter, in particular. I hope it may be in my power to come personally to thank you at Boughton, to

w<sup>ch</sup> place it is probable you will find as few words sufficient to invite me, as serv'd for L<sup>d</sup> Bedford. I have long been convinced that neither Acres, nor Wise, nor any publick professors of gardening (any more than any publick professors of virtue) are equal to y<sup>e</sup> private practisers of it. And I will as soon travel to contemplate your lordship's works, as y<sup>e</sup> Queen of Sheba did to contemplate those of Solomon.

Since I am got into another page, I will fill it with an epitaph, w<sup>ch</sup> over and above my promise to S<sup>r</sup> G. may serve for my lady's, and justly celebrates her pious design of making as large a figure on y<sup>e</sup> tomb as Sir G. himself.

One day I mean to fill S<sup>r</sup> Godfrey's tomb,  
 If for my body all this church has room.  
 Down with more monuments! more room (she cried),  
 For I am very large and very wide.

My Lord, I beg y<sup>m</sup> and my Lady Strafford's acceptance of my mother's and my humble services: and am, with sincere respect and obligation,

My Lord,  
 Your most obed<sup>t</sup> and faithfull Servant,  
 A. POPE.

## FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Twitnam, Aug<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup>.*

MY LORD,

I think myself obliged to acquaint your Lordship with what past upon the Chancellor of London's visiting our Church on y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> of this instant. D<sup>r</sup> Henchman looked upon y<sup>e</sup> place of the monument and enquired y<sup>e</sup> dimensions; which, upon measuring, he found to be so large as to fill y<sup>e</sup> whole wall from y<sup>e</sup> very ceiling above the cornice, to y<sup>e</sup> wainscote below, w<sup>ch</sup> is within 3 or 4 foot of y<sup>e</sup> ground. He questioned of y<sup>e</sup> thickness of y<sup>e</sup> wall, into which it was to be let by cutting, (as my Lady Kneller's mason there present informed him.) Tho<sup>s</sup> Reeves assur'd him it would be of danger, & y<sup>e</sup> wall was but 2 f<sup>t</sup> odd inches. He asked of y<sup>e</sup> projection? w<sup>ch</sup> her mason answerd was, beneath, of 18 inches, and above, to 3 foot gradually. The whole, 8 f<sup>t</sup> wide by near 14 high. He then asked, whose Pew was that before it? Edw<sup>d</sup> Reeves answered, Your Lordship's; & declared you had orderd him, in y<sup>r</sup> name, to protest ag<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> removal of y<sup>e</sup> mon<sup>t</sup>. The Chancellor replyd, that undoubtedly your Lordship's reasons & objections should have the due weight, when the

time came of the hearing. Upon this a very silly thing happend, w<sup>ch</sup> I ought not to conceal from you. The minister, D<sup>r</sup> Booth, with a good deal of ridiculous warmth, told D<sup>r</sup> HENCHMAN, *that of all men, my L<sup>d</sup> Straffd's objections ought to have no weight, for he never came to Church.* And added, That you had never given *him* any thing, since he was Parson: with more to that idle purpose. Two that were present said my L<sup>d</sup> Strafford had given 50l. to y<sup>e</sup> Church: & I observd you had scarce been in y<sup>e</sup> country since this Parson came, & that He himself had been but once a month, or not so often, here. You will smile at D<sup>r</sup> HENCHMAN's grave answer, w<sup>ch</sup> was, *Is my L<sup>d</sup> Strafford a Roman Catholick, or a Dissenter? If he were either, that would not lessen his right of objecting, or any other man's.* This was all y<sup>t</sup> past.

I hope y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup>ship & my Lady are in perfect health & happiness, without any accident from y<sup>e</sup> late water expedition, (not even of a sore eye) arrived at another of y<sup>r</sup> seats, and y<sup>t</sup> you find pleasures there not inferior to those of Boughton. I believe you'll improve every thing that belongs to you, as well as every thing that is near you. Witness the young Duke, and myself. My Mother is faithfully yours, & looks upon you as the Defender of her Husband,

Son, and Family, nay the Protector of her Ashes.  
Believe me (my Lord) with reall respect and  
sincerity,

Your Lordship's

Most obliged and most  
faithful Serv<sup>t</sup>,

A. POPE.

The Lady Kneller has set about a report, that I  
would compromize the matter with her, which I  
assure you is quite false, and the suit continues glo-  
riously.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

MY LORD,

I will not deny but what you mean for a sort  
of reproach is really true, (and I hope in modesty, a  
commendation) that I should not have had the con-  
fidence to trouble you, my Lord, in the manner I  
have, but for the controversy with Lady Kneller;  
but if I lose my suit, I shall be a gainer; I mean,  
of what I value much above any thing else I can  
gain, of your favour and approbation in some sort, at  
least of your letters, for I am really not so self-con-  
ceited, as to take literally some obliging things you  
do me the honour to say to me. Your Lordship, I

fear, however, will think I do so, when I write this without the least pretence of business, or indeed without having any thing to say for myself, but the only good thing perhaps that I can say for myself, that I am sincerely your humble servant.

There ends my letter. What follows is a kind of Epitaph after y<sup>e</sup> death of my subject (a thing not unfrequent both in writers and speakers). I did not doubt but y<sup>e</sup> acc<sup>t</sup> I gave you of y<sup>e</sup> Fulminations of y<sup>e</sup> Parson ag<sup>st</sup> you, w<sup>d</sup> have no better effect than what usually church-thunder has upon sons of y<sup>e</sup> Court, & men of y<sup>e</sup> world. It does but clear y<sup>e</sup> air of your faces, (is not that a Pun ? ) and leave a greater serenity than before ; it makes you smile in short, as y<sup>e</sup> other makes nature smile. Well my Lord, we submissive sons of y<sup>e</sup> mother church, y<sup>e</sup> Papists, are otherwise affected by these denunciations. We bend the knee, and kiss the toe of the Priest upon these occasions. Lady Kn. I am told, is resolved I shall go to church (tho I should be ever so willing) no more than your L<sup>d</sup>ship ; for she threatens to have me excommunicated. And so I shall no more go to church dead than alive. Is not this horrible to christian ears ? very horrible, and yet after all, not half so horrible to christian ears as a sermon of our Parson's.

I shall know nothing more of my cause till y<sup>e</sup> middle or end of this month. If I then cry out for help of your Lordship, I hope my help *w<sup>ch</sup> is in the Lord*, will not be *far* from me, because you may probably be returning to London & I w<sup>d</sup> give a good deal you had half an hour's conference with Dr. Henchman. It is but necessary to support y<sup>r</sup> character, after such an *Ecclesiastical*, I need not add to that, *Furious* attack. The truth is, the black puppy provoked me, w<sup>ch</sup> was more than all the fat woman could do, with all her other dirty gown-men: a dull blockhead sometimes galls one more than a smart cunning rogue; as a blunt knife cuts and mangles worse than a keen one. I wonder y<sup>e</sup> man should be angry at y<sup>r</sup> Lordship of all men, who (by his own account) are y<sup>e</sup> only one of his Parish that does not know him to be a dunce, by never having heard him hold forth.

I am as busy in three inches of gardening as any man can be in threescore acres. I fancy myself like the fellow that spent his life in cutting y<sup>e</sup> twelve apostles in one cherry stone. I have a Theatre, an Arcade, a Bowling-green, a Grove, & what not? in a bit of ground that would have been but a plate of sallet to Nebuchadnezzar, the first day he was turn'd

to graze. My chief comfort is, that it is too little to afford Tythe to y<sup>e</sup> afores'd Parson.

I must not omit my mother's humblest services to y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup>ship and my Lady Strafford, my own wishes to L<sup>d</sup> Wentworth's better health and y<sup>e</sup> young Lady's who was so obliging as not to think me an old man. I am with all unfeigned respect, and with that esteem w<sup>ch</sup> I can't help, and so is no degree of merit in me, but y<sup>e</sup> meer consequence of yours,

My Lord,

Your most obliged

& obedient humble

Servant,

A. POPE.

*Twickenham, Oct. 5th.*

FROM DR. YOUNG TO SIR WILLIAM BUNBURY.

*Wellwyn, July y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup>, 1747.*

SIR,

In answer to y<sup>e</sup> favour of your letter about y<sup>e</sup> Play, I wrote you word, that if you would do me y<sup>e</sup> honour of a visit for a day or two w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Garrick, we would read y<sup>e</sup> Play together &c. : I continue to wish the same favour being but four hours from town. But as I fear you have now left town, & as I am uncertain where this may find you, I only



desire to know if y<sup>e</sup> Letter I mention came to your hand, and if you have any commands for,

Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obedient & Humble S<sup>r</sup>,

E. YOUNG.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Charles Street, Westminster.*

SIR,

I hear a report that, by your permission, my Play is destined to y<sup>e</sup> Stage. S<sup>r</sup> I do not, I cannot beleive it. It was on other conditions y<sup>e</sup> Play was entrusted with S<sup>r</sup> T. Hanmer, & afterwards (at your request) with you. I had full promise from both of you, that it should go no farther without my Consent. The very report has already done me hurt, (and that substantial hurt) in more points than one; what then, S<sup>r</sup>, think you must y<sup>e</sup> execution do? I therefore entreat you by Justice, Honour, Friendship, and even Compassion to one whose confidence in you has layd Him at y<sup>r</sup> mercy, to put me out of pain from apprehension of future contingencys, by restoring the Trifle to, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most obedient & most Humble Ser<sup>t</sup>,

E. YOUNG.

S<sup>r</sup>, I had waited on you but I am not very well.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*March 25, 1748.*

SIR,

I thank you for y<sup>e</sup> favour of yours, w<sup>ch</sup> gives me full satisfaction. The eagerness of my Letter was owing to my surprize at y<sup>e</sup> report and y<sup>e</sup> violence of y<sup>e</sup> asseverations wh<sup>ch</sup> accompanyd it ; And I hope you will not construe it as a meditated distrust of your honour ; For, I assure you that I am with true esteem and gratitude,

S<sup>r</sup>,

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obedient

& most Humble Ser<sup>r</sup>,

E. YOUNG.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR,

By his Majesty's Letters to y<sup>e</sup> Archbishop, &c. you see how y<sup>e</sup> most noble of Charitys is at present distressed.

I beg y<sup>e</sup> favour by y<sup>r</sup> means to know if Mr. Garrick is willing to act y<sup>e</sup> Tragedy in your hands, early next winter for the Benefit of y<sup>t</sup> Charity ; if so y<sup>e</sup>

profits arising from it shall be given to y<sup>e</sup> Propagation of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell in foreign parts.

I am, Dear, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your Affectionate

& Obedient Humble Ser<sup>t</sup>,

E. YOUNG.

I beg, S<sup>r</sup>, my best Compliments to my Lady.

*Wellwyn, Jan. 23,*

1752.

FROM DAVID GARRICK TO THE SAME.

SIR,

I return'd from Tunbridge yesterday and receiv'd your and D<sup>r</sup>. Young's notes this morning—I am very sorry that the Doctor did not care to intrust me with the Play w<sup>ch</sup> I could have return'd to him next Monday or Tuesday at Wellwyn as I am going that way with Lord Burlington in y<sup>e</sup> road to Yorkshire.—However delicate y<sup>r</sup> Doctor may be with regard to his Play, I assure you Sir, I am as delicate in my care of y<sup>e</sup> Performances that are put into my hands, as (I hope) I am punctual in keeping my word and doing justice to the Gentlemen who write 'em.—I have taken some pains to be at liberty to act the Doctor's Play the ensuing Season, but it is

impossible for me now to fix y<sup>e</sup> Performance of it before or after Christmas. I can only say that it shall not be acted at a bad time, and as to saying when, my affairs will not permit me to come immediately to any determination. I intend to wait upon D<sup>r</sup>. Young the beginning of next week, and then I hope to be satisfy'd of his intentions; I could wish that he may have the copy of his Play with him, that if he should come to a resolution of having it acted, I may carry it with me into Yorkshire, where I can study it at my leisure & prepare myself for y<sup>e</sup> getting it up and fixing the Characters at my return.

I am oblig'd, on account of Lord Burlington's late indisposition, to attend him this latter part of y<sup>e</sup> summer into Yorkshire, so that I shall be hindered from y<sup>e</sup> pleasure of seeing my very good Friends at Thurlow.

I am,

Sir,

Your most oblig'd

& most obed<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>,

D. GARRICK.

*Chiswick, July 28<sup>th</sup>, (1752).*

If you write me a line by y<sup>e</sup> next post, please to direct to me in Southampton Street, Covent Garden, London.

FROM THE REVD. THOMAS SEWARD TO SIR  
WILLIAM BUNBURY, (ABOUT 1761).

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>,

The pleasure you gave my wife and me in the many instances of friendship you shewed us in your late agreeable visit, deserves the earliest acknowledgement; and as you desired me to send you a few instances of Mr. Warburton's mistakes, I will endeavour that they shall overtake you in London. I will suppose myself in the person of S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer, who I believe would not have been tempted by severities towards himself to return railing for railing, but would have preserv'd that temper and civility which were his distinguishing characteristicks.

TO MR. WARBURTON.

To shew you that a few mistakes in the sense of particular passages should not have entitled me to the treatment I have receiv'd from you, I will endeavour to prove, that you have made many more mistakes than me, and that you do not deserve better of our author by your just emendations than I have done by mine. To prove this I will select the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and examine the several alterations that we have made in that play.

Act 1, s. 1.—Warb. edit. p. 93.

Like to a step-dame or a dowager,  
Long withering out a young man's revenue.

The last line, you say, is certainly not good English. It appears to me a very fine expression. The debts that the young man is often oblig'd to contract, timber fell'd and lands impoverish'd (the common fate of jointred estates), are all express'd by it; add to this, the difficulties and vexations which *wither out* the young man's body as well as estate, and you'll then see that there was no necessity of any change. *Long wintering on* contains neither so many, so just, or such poetical ideas.

P. 94.

—— at her window sung  
With feigning voice, verses of *feigning* love.

As I confess I have no idea of the epithet of *feigning* when thus applied to love, unless the active be taken passively, I ventured to change it to *feigned*, and think I only restored the original. What you say in your next note of Shakespear's antedating a law of Solon's does not seem just. Because Solon collected a body of laws, it does not follow that he was the first inventor of those laws; they were probably only the customary laws of Athens, which Solon with some amendments and some additional sanctions establish'd and enforced, so there was no impropriety

co-temporary writers make the generality of their women, who often, as Shakespear expresses it, are more than *half-woers*. But in this case it does not seem so. Hermia had publickly own'd her love, and engagements to Lysander. She was just before in the depth of sorrow for fear of losing him, and upon his proposing a feasible scheme for their flight from Athens, she with rapture embraces it, and expresses those raptures by a set of fondling love-oaths,

My good Lysander,  
I swear to thee by Cupid's strongest bow,  
By his best arrow with the golden head, &c. &c.

All the beauty of these joyous fondling oaths is lost, if they are supposed to be spoke seriously by Lysander, and there are two that are quite absurd if spoke so, but extremely pretty in the other light.

And by that fire that burn'd the Carthage Queen,  
When the false Trojan under sail was seen ;  
By all the vows that ever men have broke,  
In number more than ever woman spoke.

Could a man swear this, and swear it in a serious mood too ? No ; she gives him a hint of the hazard she ran of his proving false to her, much in the same manner as Jessica in the Merchant of Venice, act 5, sc. 1st, fondles with her Lorenzo.

———— In such a night  
Did young Lorenzo swear he lov'd her well,

Stealing her soul with many vows of faith,  
And ne'er a true one.

LOR. ——— And in such a night  
Did pretty Jessica, like a little shrew,  
Slander her love, and he forgave it her.

Nobody ever *fondled* so prettily as Shakespear ; 'tis one of his remarkable excellences. At p. 101, you admit an emendation of mine :

Sickness is catching ; oh ! were favour so,  
*Yours would I catch*, fair Hermia, ere I go.

Instead of *your words I'd catch*. This is one of those just emendations which every reader at first sight gives a full assent to, which every one wonders he did not himself hit upon, and which is worth a hundred forced and strained ones. This, S<sup>r</sup>, is the second emendation of any material service to the author, and perhaps the third that is not of great disservice to him.

I will not insist upon the necessity of my changing  
to *His folly, Helena, 's no fault of mine,*

*His fault, O Helena, is none of mine.*

But the two next emendations by Mr. Theobald are so very evident, that I am surprised you have taken no notice of them. Your next, at p. 103, is of no consequence. We may as well retain the old reading as yours. Your next, about *a part to tear a cat in*, which you would alter to *a part to tear a cap in*, I believe no one will admit without you can produce



an authority for *tear-cap* signifying a ranting bully. It is not enough to say it does so, because tear-sheet is used by Shakespear for a *ranting whore*. The old reading gives me this idea—I could play a part that should sound like a dog worrying a cat ; for instance, “The raging rocks and shivering shocks,” &c. This idea seems much preferable to what you have substituted in its room.

We are now come to the second act, where the first emendation (which turns an evident corruption into good sense, keeping at y<sup>e</sup> same time very near the trace of the letters) belongs to me.

Then slip I from her bum, down topples she,  
And *Taylor* cries, and falls into a cough.

I read, *rails or*.

As to your next,

Didst thou not lead him *glimmering thro' the night*,  
instead of *thro' the glimmering night*. As glimmering is a proper epithet to night, and does not by your transposition clearly express the idea you would have it, viz. that she leads him in the shape of fire. I adhere to the old text. Nor do I allow that you have sufficiently proved Shakespear to have imitated Ovid in the passage you next quote. There is a similitude, but not strong enough to prove an imitation. The next emendation you make is—

The human mortals want their winter *here*.

You read *heryed*. An old obsolete word, you say, us'd by Chaucer and Spenser for *praised* or *celebrated*. This, S<sup>r</sup>, is a reason why Shakespear would not use the word, for he by no means affects an obsolete stile, and it would be a great fault in a dramattick poet to do it. Spenser professedly adopted almost all Chaucer's language; and it was proper to his subjects; it gave an air of antiquity to his allegories, and of rusticity to his pastorals. But there is this proof of Shakespear's making scarce any use of such obsolete words, that those few that look like such to us, are almost all found in Fletcher, Johnson, & the rest of the dramattick poets of his age. Chaucer, Spenser, and Maundevill are therefore not sufficient authority for the insertion of any word into the text of Shakespear, much less is Skinner, or the most judicious glossarists, unless you can prove the use of y<sup>e</sup> word by Shakespear or his contemporaries, among which Spenser (as was observed) is not to be included. And if this be a good rule, I'm affraid it will cut off at least one fourth of all your emendations, for you seem to have a particular fondness for obsolescence. But beside this general objection to the word *heryed*, I have a particular one to make. It gives the very same idea with the following line—

No night is now with hymn or carol blest ;

for to *hery*, is, as you own, to celebrate with praise. So that this which you bring as a proof is a disproof of your conjecture. There is scarce any writer in the world so seldom guilty of tautology as Shakespear, and an editor should be very careful of not making him tautological where he was not so before. The place, I allow, is corrupt, but the emendation which I have inserted—want their winter's *cheer*--is so easy, so close to the letters, and gives a sense so consonant to the context without the least tautology, that no unprejudiced person will wonder at my preferring it to yours, tho' they will have reason to wonder why you did not so much as mention it, since you are so very desirous of exposing all my conjectures where you think your own have the preference. You pass over in the same manner my next conjecture, that yours may stand unrival'd.

———— The spring, the summer,  
The chiding autumn, angry winter change  
Their wonted liveries; and th' amazed world  
By their *increase* now knows not which is which.

We have both treated *increase* as a corruption. I read *inverse*, you *inchase*, and if uncommonness and stiffness are arguments for the use of any word, yours deserves preference. But, as was observed, they seem to me objections to it. However, let us do justice to the old reading. Are we not both

wrong in supposing it corrupt?—As the moon has her *increase* and *decrease*, so the seasons have theirs ; but in this case the spring and summer had not their gradual *increase* of heat, nor the autumn and winter of cold : neither do they produce their usual *increase*, —the spring of flowers, the summer and autumn of fruits, and of consequence the winter loses its cheer of meats and wines. In either of these lights the word *increase* seems intelligible. As to *childing autumn* for *chiding*, we both agree in it, but the merit of restoring it from the old 4<sup>to</sup> belongs to poor Mr. Theobald.

As to your next emendation of *follying* for *fol-  
lowing*, I allow it to be a very happy one, and have adopted it accordingly. I likewise agree with you in the explanation of the fine allegory relating to Mary Queen of Scots, and the compliment to Queen Elizabeth ; it always appeared to me in that light, and I have so explained it to several friends long before your publication of it. Your reading of *Cupid alarmed*, instead of *Cupid all-arm'd*, has much ingenuity in it, tho' your objections to the old reading don't seem valid. *Cupid all-arm'd* will signify arm'd with all his force and fury, and in this light the image is perfectly classical. This was my reason for thinking that the old text did not want any change.

## P. 119.

The clamorous owl, that nightly hoots, and wonders  
At our quaint *spirits*.

Here I read *sports*, which you now claim as yours, altho' in your republication of my edition you allow it to be mine. As to your transposition of *conference* and *innocence* in your next note, it is not allow'd, because in their old station they give as clear and as just ideas as in their new, and perhaps much more so.

O take the sense, Sweet, of my innocence,  
Love takes the meaning in Love's conference.

*i. e.* O don't interpret my innocence or innocent words into a wrong sense, surely in love's conference love should understand the true meaning.

The next emendation (p. 127), which we both allow—a *whit* for *awhile*, which restores the rhyme, belongs to poor Mr. Theobald, and I think deserved to be mention'd, as you profess to do justice to all. The next, at p. 131, you are so ingenuous to ascribe to me—"I know your *patience* well," I alter'd to "I know your *parentage* well," and every reader that consults the context must allow it a happy conjecture.

## P. 133.

Your brother's noon-tide with the antipodes.

You read *i' th'*, and I allow the justness of this

change, as you did my next at p. 136—*pureness* of pure white, instead of *princess*. At the same page we have different conjectures to cure the corruption of the following passage :

Can you not hate me, as I know you do,  
But you must join *in souls* to mock me too.

I read *in flouts*, which certainly is good sense, and therefore ought to have been mention'd to the reader, because most, I believe, would think it at least as probable a conjecture as yours—

But must join *insolents* to mock me too.

The next emendation being Mr. Folks's, we neither claim the merit of it, but you have at p. 139 adopted one of poor Theobald's without the least acknowledgment:

Thou canst compel no more than she entreat ;  
Thy threats have no more strength than her weak *prayers*.

The old editions before Theobald read *praise*, and he happily restored the genuine text. And if at p. 141, instead of retaining the vulgar reading—*You minimus of hind'ring knot-grass made*, you had adopted his conjecture of, *you minim, you*—surely you had done only justice to your author, who was not so very ignorant of Latin, as not to know the masculine from the feminine gender. As to the change at p. 143, of

*Fair blessed beams,*

into *for blessing*, we both claim it, and perhaps might both have made it; and those conjectures are generally the truest which most people hit upon.

P. 148.

So doth the woodbine the sweet honey-suckle  
Gently entwist, the female ivy so  
Enrings the barks fingers of the elm.

You read—*Gently entwist the maple; ivy so, &c.* This, S<sup>r</sup>, I had seen, but did not allow, chiefly because no change was necessary, for it is good sense two ways. For take the *honey-suckle* for the flower and the woodbine for the stalk or tree, then the former is the nominative case, and the latter the accusative to *entwist*. Or, as I have chose to point in my edition, So doth the woodbine entwist, so doth the female ivy enring the barks fingers of the elm; and the elm, or its barks fingers, is the accusative to both verbs. But supposing neither of these would be allow'd, I should still disapprove yours, because it excludes much the prettiest and most poetical word in y<sup>e</sup> whole sentence, the epithet *female* is surely too good to have dropt into the text by accident or blunder.

In y<sup>e</sup> line immediately preceding,

Fairies be gone and be *always* away,

I read, *be awhile*, Mr. Theobald—*be all ways*. I won't contend for the preference of mine to his; you had a right to adopt that which pleased you most.

but you ought to have acknowledged it, since you do not set his character in a true light by dwelling upon every mistake as you do upon one at p. 150, and taking no notice of his merits. At the same page, I publish'd a very easy and just emendation :

And bless it to all *far* posterity—[instead of *fair*].

You lay claim to this, and perhaps you made it as well as I, but I have at least an equal right to it. I say nothing here of those which we have both received from Dr. Thirlby. I had always a high esteem for the Dr.'s sagacity and judgement. Your next note of *mountains* for *fountains*, at p. 151, is an improvement, and as y<sup>e</sup> old text is sense, you very justly propose it as a conjecture only. But here, S<sup>r</sup>, I must observe that as Mr. Pope and you undertake to point out the most beautiful passages of Shakespear (an attempt which few readers ever commended in Mr. Pope, and which, whatever merit you claim to yourself for it, as few will approve in you), yet, S<sup>r</sup>, as you did so, how came this beautiful description of hunting (which perhaps exceeds every thing upon y<sup>e</sup> subject that Greece or Rome ever produced) to be pass'd over in neglect? Mr. Addison was so different in his opinion of it that he has quoted it as one of the finest passages of our author. Your change at p. 154, of *jewel* into *gemell*, I allow



to be an improvement of the sense ; but I shall always *doubt* of words unsupported by any authority from Shakespear or his cotemporaries. The next emendation of—Peradventure to make it more gracious, I shall sing it *after* death—instead of *at her* death, p. 125, which adds great humour to the passage, was made by Mr. Theobald, as was in the same page, *naught* instead of *nought*, which is equally an improvement, and equally deserved your notice, tho' you are not pleased to acknowledge it.

And now, S<sup>r</sup>, I come to a change, where I fear you will appear to have failed both in taste and candour ; p. 159 :—

Merry and tragical ? tedious and brief ?  
That is hot ice and wondrous *strange* snow.

Instead of *strange*, I read *scorching*, which preserves the poetick spirit, the antithesis, and the measure ; and is so near the old text, that four of the letters are the same in each word. But instead of this, you peremptorily assert that we should read—

That is hot ice, a wondrous strange shew !

Where you have neither *antithesis*, *poetry*, or *measure*, and you were certainly politically right in mentioning no rival to such a reading. But how,

S<sup>r</sup>, do you do the justice to me that you promise in your preface? Mistakes in judgement are common to you, to me, to every man, but want of equity is less excusable.—I think you equally blameable with regard to the next emendation of Mr. Theobald :

And what poor *willing* duty cannot do.

*Willing* is an insertion of his, and compleats both sense and measure; but you adopt it without acknowledgement. The next emendation, at p. 164, of *rear* for *hear*, we both lay equal claim to; but at the same page,—two noble beasts in a *moon*, and a lion, which is a correction of Mr. Theobald's, instead of *a man and a lion*, and is absolutely self-evident, you not only take no notice of, but have discarded it, and restored the old corrupt text. The next emendation to p. 167,—And thus she *moans*, instead of *means*, you acknowledge to be his. And I freely acknowledge your last of—

Now the wolf *behovls* the moon—instead of *beholds*,

to be a very happy one: it retrieves sublimity from flatness, and is, I doubt not, the genuine word. Thus, S<sup>r</sup>, I have with impartiality examin'd the changes made in this play by yourself, Mr. Theobald, and me; and if this examination be just, the following calculation will give the reader a succinct view

of our different merits and demerits. Mr. Theobald, who had the advantage of coming first, made twelve material changes, of which eleven are good and one bad. To these I also added twelve material ones, which are all good, and several others that are either dubious or too trifling to be mentioned, but never a bad one. Of these twelve good ones, you lay equal claim to four, and have added four good ones beside, four dubious, and nine exceeding bad ones.

I am, S<sup>r</sup>,

Yours, &c.

T. HANMER.

I must now return to my own character.—The above I have wrote in a few hours, and with that inaccuracy that a rough sketch is generally drawn with: if the blots will permit you to read it, I hope you will generally find the criticisms just, and if so, you will see that I did not exaggerate when I told you that in a few weeks I could fill an octavo with Mr. Warburton's mistakes. I need not caution you against showing them to any person that you have not an entire confidence in; for I know you will be as careful of hurting me as I can be of myself. But I really think Mr. War<sup>n</sup> has done so much injustice to S<sup>r</sup> Thomas that he ought to be reprehended for it, tho' I would not be known to be the person who did

it. If you would chuse to publish any thing you find here, let me know what omissions, additions, or changes are necessary, and send the sheets back to be corrected. A good deal more might be said in the introduction with regard to the writer's inability to fill the character of the great man whose name he assumes, and some hints of an intimate acquaintance with him, so as to enable him to assure the world of the caution which S<sup>r</sup> Thomas used with regard to Mr. Warburton's emendations.—Your mare is as yet very coy ; but the groom ascribes it to her having been turn'd to grass ; so I have taken her into house again, and shall keep her as he directs. She is in perfect good order ; and I hope the mare you carry'd with you will stand sound, and if she does, I'm confident she'll prove a good one. I see by the papers to-day, that your Suffolk meeting is defer'd to the 25th, so suppose you'll cross over directly to Suffolk, and I shall therefore direct to you there ; and I hope, very much hope, that you have been able to accomplish your inclinations of effectually serving the Duke of Grafton ; it may possibly detach you from a party that you know to have a strong tincture of real disaffection among them, and tho' they may have called themselves by the same name, many of them are as different from you and from every true Protestant,

as darkness is from light, or Popery from the Church of England. 'Tis true the ministry may want œconomy; but one rebellion will cost y<sup>e</sup> nation more than forty bad steps taken by them, and I do verily think that there has been as few grounds of complaint against the behaviour of the ministry for these three last years, as against any one ministry since Lord Clarendon's banishment. I beg my compliments to Lady Bunbury, and that you and she will accept my wife's, together with those of

Your most obliged

Humble Servant,

T. SEWARD.

LORD SHELBURNE TO SIR CHARLES BUNBURY.

*Hill Street, Feb. 16, 1762.*

DEAR BUNBURY,

Not seeing you for any time on Saturday, I came to town to-day in great measure to meet you. Need I tell you that tho' Mr. Fox and I agree at last, our motives are by no means the same; It is neither love to myself nor to any other person, nor fear, nor hope, that makes me alter my sentiments in a matter, which my own conduct shew'd, perhaps too plainly, my opinion of. I did not take myself

into the consideration, till I found the cause, which was the motive of your action & of mine, likely to suffer by low means, for want of more powerfull advocates, than the zeal and disinterestedness of a few. 'Twas long, and with unwillingness, that I ever believ'd that, which when prov'd to be true, must furnish every honest man the most gloomy views of the present as well as future situation of his country. I will not dwell upon the subject further till such time as you'll let me see you. This morning you were not at home, but I would not deferr till to-morrow, thanking you for the share, which the consideration of your friends, apart from other motives, I find had in making you deferr your intended motion. The generosity of this proceeding may strike them, but will bind one, whom I can with truth assure was ever inclined to be, with the greatest love and regard,

Your faithfull Serv<sup>t</sup>,

SHELBURNE.

William, Earl of Shelburne, was born in May, 1737. In April, 1763, he was brought into the administration as first Lord Commissioner of Trade, &c., but he resigned this office in the following autumn. In July, 1766, he was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, but he again retired in October, 1768. On the overthrow of Lord North's administration, Lord Shelburne became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and on the death of Lord Rockingham, in July, 1782, he succeeded to the post of

Prime Minister. Early in the following year he was overthrown by the coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox ; nor did he afterwards return to office. In Nov<sup>r</sup>, 1784, he was created Marquess of Lansdowne ; and he died in May, 1805.

THE RT HONBLE HENRY FOX (AFTERWARDS LORD HOLLAND) TO SIR CHARLES BUNBURY, BAR<sup>T</sup>.

DEAR SIR,

You flatter me extremely with respect to Charles\*. You had such an opinion of him before you saw him, as I own I fear'd his visit would shew you he did not deserve. He was very much in the right, as well as most happy, I dare say, to obey your obliging commands in staying longer. If I could wish myself out of this place, it would be to be at Barton. But I am far too nonsensical at Kingsgate either to wish myself or to be wish'd for, any where else.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient & oblig'd

humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

H. Fox.

*Kingsgate,*

*Sept. 16, 1762.*

\* Charles James Fox was at this time in the 14th year of his age.

LORD HOLLAND TO SIR CHARLES BUNBURY.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,

You must not entirely rely on my advice, but consult yourself. I should think you had better go to Ireland ; cultivate & advise with Lord Tavistock.

My being out should have no influence with you : I have neither health, inclination, or age, to admit of launching again into politicks. L<sup>d</sup> Halifax's letter of dismission is accompany'd with no civility to qualify it, but I don't feel uneasy. If you hear it insinuated that I have been an adviser or contriver in these transactions, contradict it, for upon my honour I have not, directly or indirectly.

Is Mackenzie out of Privy Seal as well as of the Government of Scotland ?

\* \* \* \* \*

If I don't see you all *en passant*, tho' for ever so short a time, I shall not forgive it. Pray settle it as well as you can and let me know. I do, My Dear S<sup>r</sup> Charles, most sincerely love you, & should (without this letter of yrs to answer) have wrote to you on what you said to my brother in the chariot, Tuesday. You have twenty times the judgement



that *person* has. I think he has less than any body I ever knew. Consider what his advice was now.

Adieu, yours ever,

HOLLAND.

*Kingsgate,*

*May 25, 1762.*

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,

I heartily wish you joy. Continue to assure every body, especially your friends, that I knew nothing of these late transactions. Upon my word I did not. Whoever is not wilfully blind may see it now. Had the attempt succeeded, it must have been through Lord Temple and Pitt; & Lord Bute would never have told me that: indeed he never told me anything about it, nor have I seen him since the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April.

I'm afraid L<sup>d</sup> Kildare won't do as he should do. That will be my fault too, won't it? However a little bustle and trouble at y<sup>r</sup> age is nothing. I have as yet, thank God, what suits with mine, health and quiet.

Yours ever,

HOLLAND.

*May 30, 1765.*

FROM DAVID GARRICK.

*Adelphi, Oct. 5<sup>th</sup>, 1774.*

TO HENRY BUNBURY, ESQ.

UPON RECEIVING SOME GAME BY THE BURY COACH.

OLD Snarlers at the present times,  
Whether they write in prose or rhymes,  
Swear we have lost, by innovation,  
The social spirit of the nation ;  
That Christmas, ivy-crown'd of yore,  
Is *merry* Christmas now no more,  
And by the Muses, and Apollo,  
Plumb-porridge gone, mincé pies will follow.  
Few presents now to friends are sent,  
Few hours in merry-making spent ;  
Old fashion'd folks there are indeed,  
Whose hogs & pigs at Christmas bleed,  
Whose honest hearts no modes refine,  
They send their puddings & their chine :  
No *Norfolk turkeys* load the waggon,  
Which once the horses scarce could drag on,

And to increase the weight, with these  
Came their *attendant sausages* !  
Can you, dear Sir, a man of taste,  
Revive old whimsies gone and past ?  
And (fie for shame !) without reproach,  
Stuff as you do the Bury coach ?  
With strange old kindness send me presents  
Of partridges and dainty pheasants ?  
Nor is this all : not long ago,  
(The world your vulgar deeds shall know)  
You sent a picture of your own,  
(Laugh'd at indeed as soon as shown)  
Which, by the gout, as bound I lay,  
Was brought before me ev'ry day,  
Of groans the tyrant to beguile,  
And on the rack to make me smile :  
In short—of this same gen'rous turn  
To clear your heart, your head must learn,  
And if all men of taste and fashion  
Explode this present-making passion,  
What, Bunb'ry, will be said of you,  
Who feast my *eyes* and *palate* too ?

D. GARRICK.

BY MR. GARRICK.

THE OLD PAINTER'S SOLILOQUY UPON SEEING MR. BUNBURY'S  
DRAWINGS.

I.

SHALL *I* so long, old *Hayman* said and swore,  
Of painting till the barren soil,  
While this young *Bunbury*, not twenty-four,  
Gets fame, for which in vain I toil :

II.

Yet he's so whimsical, perverse, and idle,  
Tho' Phœbus self should bid him stay,  
He'll quit the magic pencil for the bridle,  
And gallop fame and life away.

III.

With *Reynolds'* matchless grace, and Hogarth's pow'r,  
(Again he swore a dreadful oath)  
This boy had rather trot ten miles an hour,  
And risk his neck, than paint like both.

IV.

Fix but his Mercury, he' join the two,  
And be my boast, Britannia cry'd :  
*Nature* before him plac'd her comic crew,  
*Fortune*\* plac'd Beauty by his side.

D. G.

*July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1776, Barton.*


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\* See the PS. to the next letter.—“*And Fate* placed Beauty by his side.”

FROM DAVID GARRICK TO MRS. BUNBURY.

MADAM,

The honour and favour you have bestow'd upon me, are as properly felt as it is out of my power to return them. What bare, but sincere gratitude can do, will certainly be done, but its circle is but narrow, and confin'd within my own bosom. I had notice by a letter from my brother of the arrival of the present, upon which I shall set the greatest value. I thought myself before so oblig'd to the house of Bunbury, that I despair'd of shewing myself worthy of the very flattering regard a certain gentleman has shewn me; and now I am in the situation of a person I knew, who being overwhelm'd with debts, told me (upon my advising him to reflect a little upon his affairs) "What signifies reflection, Garrick? I never can get out of debt, so I must e'en be satisfy'd with letting things take their course, and pray to heaven to direct me for the best, as nothing but prayers are left for me." I beg that you will be assur'd that no blessing or pleasure should be ever absent from my most amiable friends at Barton, if the prayers of a very unworthy sinner could prevail. I am, Madam,

With great truth,

Your most sincerely oblig'd, humble servant,

D. GARRICK.

Mrs. Garrick presents her respects w<sup>th</sup> mine to you and Mr. Bunbury. As I find the little nonsense I scribbled at Barton has been approv'd of by some friends here, I take the liberty of troubling you to desire Mr. B. to alter the last line to y<sup>e</sup> first reading, which was not—" *Fortune plac'd,*" but " *And Fate plac'd.*" Had I not been so far from town, I should not have been so long in answering your most obliging letter.

FROM DR. GOLDSMITH.\*

MADAM,

I read your letter with all that allowance which critical candour could require, but after all find so much to object to, and so much to raise my indignation, that I cannot help giving it a serious answer.

I am not so ignorant, Madam, as not to see there are many sarcasms contained in it, and solecisms also. (Solecism is a word that comes from the town of Soleis in Attica, among the Greeks, built by Solon, and applied as we use the word Kidderminster for

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\* Goldsmith was one of the most intimate and cherished friends of Mr. and Mrs. Bunbury, and of her sister (afterwards Mrs. Gwyn) who is still living. This letter was probably written in 1773 or 1774.

curtains from a town also of that name,—but this is learning you have no taste for!)—I say, Madam, there are sarcasms in it, and solecisms also. But not to seem an ill-natured critic, I'll take leave to quote your own words, and give you my remarks upon them as they occur. You begin as follows:—

“ I hope, my good Doctor, you soon will be here,  
And your spring-velvet coat very smart will appear,  
To open our ball the first day of the year.”

Pray, Madam, where did you ever find the epithet “good,” applied to the title of Doctor? Had you called me “learned Doctor,” or “grave Doctor,” or “noble Doctor,” it might be allowable, because they belong to the profession. But, not to cavil at trifles, you talk of my “spring-velvet coat,” and advise me to wear it the first day in the year,—that is, in the middle of winter!—a spring-velvet in the middle of winter!!! That would be a solecism indeed! and yet, to increase the inconsistency, in another part of your letter you call me a beau. Now, on one side or other, you must be wrong. If I am a beau, I can never think of wearing a spring-velvet in winter: and if I am not a beau, why then, that explains itself. But let me go on to your two next strange lines:—

“ And bring with you a wig, that is modish and gay,  
To dance with the girls that are makers of hay.”

The absurdity of making hay at Christmas you yourself seem sensible of: you say your sister will laugh; and so indeed she well may! The Latins have an expression for a contemptuous kind of laughter, "*Naso contemnere adunco*;" that is, to laugh with a crooked nose. She may laugh at you in the manner of the antients if she thinks fit. But now I come to the most extraordinary of all extraordinary propositions, which is, to take your and your sister's advice in playing at loo. The presumption of the offer raises my indignation beyond the bounds of prose; it inspires me at once with verse and resentment. I take advice! and from whom? You shall hear.

"First let me suppose, what may shortly be true,  
 The company set, and the word to be, Loo:  
 All smirking, and pleasant, and big with adventure,  
 And ogling the stake which is fix'd in the centre.  
 Round and round go the cards, while I inwardly damn  
 At never once finding a visit from Pam.  
 I lay down my stake, apparently cool,  
 While the harpies about me all pocket the pool.  
 I fret in my gizzard, yet, cautious and sly,  
 I wish all my friends may be bolder than I:  
 Yet still they sit snugg, not a creature will aim  
 By losing their money to venture at fame.  
 'Tis in vain that at niggardly caution I scold,  
 'Tis in vain that I flatter the brave and the bold:  
 All play their own way, and they think me an ass,—  
 'What does Mrs. Bunbury?'—'I, Sir? I pass.'



'Pray what does Miss Horneck? take courage, come do,'—  
 'Who, I? let me see, Sir, why I must pass too.'  
 Mr. Bunbury frets, and I fret like the devil,  
 To see them so cowardly, lucky, and civil.  
 Yet still I sit snugg, and continue to sigh on,  
 Till made by my losses as bold as a lion,  
 I venture at all,—while my avarice regards  
 The whole pool as my own—'Come give me five cards.'  
 'Well done!' cry the ladies; 'Ah, Doctor, that's good!  
 The pool's very rich,—ah! the Doctor is loo'd!'  
 Thus foil'd in my courage, on all sides perplex,  
 I ask for advice from the lady that's next:  
 'Pray, Ma'm, be so good as to give your advice;  
 Don't you think the best way is to venture for't twice?'  
 'I advise,' cries the lady, 'to try it, I own.—  
 Ah! the doctor is loo'd! Come, Doctor, put down.'  
 Thus, playing, and playing, I still grow more eager,  
 And so bold, and so bold, I'm at last a bold beggar.  
 Now, ladies, I ask, if law-matters you're skill'd in,  
 Whether crimes such as yours should not come before

Fielding:

For giving advice that is not worth a straw,  
 May well be call'd picking of pockets in law;  
 And picking of pockets, with which I now charge ye,  
 Is, by quinto Elizabeth, Death without Clergy.  
 What justice, when both to the Old Bailey brought!  
 By the gods, I'll enjoy it, tho' 'tis but in thought!  
 Both are plac'd at the bar, with all proper decorum,  
 With bunches of fennell, and nosegays before 'em;  
 Both cover their faces with mobs and all that,  
 But the judge bids them, angrily, take off their hat.  
 When uncover'd, a buz of inquiry runs round,—  
 'Pray what are their crimes?'—'They've been pilfering found.  
 'But, pray, who have they pilfer'd?'—'A doctor, I hear.'  
 'What, yon solemn-faced, odd-looking man that stands near!'

‘The same.’—‘What a pity! how does it surprise one,  
 Two handsomer culprits I never set eyes on!’  
 Then their friends all come round me with cringing and  
     leering,  
 To melt me to pity, and soften my swearing.  
 First Sir Charles advances with phrases well strung,  
 ‘Consider, dear doctor, the girls are but young.’  
 ‘The younger the worse,’ I return him again,  
 ‘It shews that their habits are all dyed in grain.’  
 ‘But then they’re so handsome, one’s bosom it grieves.’  
 ‘What signifies *handsome*, when people are thieves?’  
 ‘But where is your justice? their cases are hard.’  
 ‘What signifies *justice*? I want the *reward*.’

“ ‘There’s the parish of Edmonton offers forty pounds; there’s the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch offers forty pounds; there’s the parish of Tyburn, from the Hog-in-the-pound to St. Giles’s watchhouse, offers forty pounds,—I shall have all that if I convict them!’—

“ ‘But consider their case,—it may yet be your own!  
 And see how they kneel? Is your heart made of stone?’  
 This moves:—so at last I agree to relent,  
 For ten pounds in hand, and ten pounds to be spent.”

I challenge you all to answer this: I tell you, you cannot. It cuts deep;—but now for the rest of the letter: and next—but I want room—so I believe I shall battle the rest out at Barton some day next week.

I don’t value you all!

O. G.

FROM GEORGE CRABBE TO EDMUND BURKE\*.

SIR,

It is my wish that this Letter may reach you at a time when you are disengaged, but if otherwise, I intreat that it may not be immediately read, as it is sufficient to try your patience without the additional circumstance of asking your attention at an improper time. I think it right to lay before you Sir, a farther account of myself, & lest my present or future conduct should appear in a light that they ought not, I venture to inform you more particularly of the past: nor is this my sole motive; it is painful to me to be conscious that I have given you only partial information, though the part I gave was strictly true. Nor can I, with propriety, beg your advice in my present difficult situation, without relating the steps which led to it; on the other hand I consider how much I have troubled you, and that you probably know as much of me as you desire; I am apprehensive too that I shall not rise in your opinion by what I write, and it is my constant fear that, kind and benevolent as you are, these repeated attacks upon your patience may compel you to with-

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\* This letter was sent by Mr. Burke to Sir Charles Bunbury, who took a warm interest in Mr. Crabbe's welfare.

draw your assistance and leave me to lament the importunity of my applications. These reasons however do not balance their opposite ones; they oblige me to fear, but not to relinquish my purpose, and this long account is the result of a painful deliberation on the propriety of writing it.

I do not recollect the particulars of my first letter, but I believe Sir it informed you that my father has a place in the Custom h<sup>o</sup> at Aldborough, that he had a large family, a little income, and no œconomy: he kept me two years at a country boarding School, and then plac'd me with an apothecary, who was poor and had little business, but the premium he demanded was small. I continued two years with this man, I read romances and learned to bleed; my master was also a Farmer, and I became useful to him in this his principal occupation; there was indeed no other distinction between the boy at the farm & myself, but that he was happy in being an annual servant, and I was bound by indentures. I do not mean Sir to trifle with you, but it is by no means a small matter with me, how I stand in your opinion, and now when I speak of my mingled follies and misfortunes, I wish to say all I can consistently with truth in vindication of the former. I rebelled in my servitude, for it became grievous. My

Father was informed of his Son's idleness and disobedience ; he came, and was severe in his correction of them : I knew myself then injur'd and became obstinate, and a second visit of my Father's put an end to my slavery ; he took me home with him, and with me two thirds of the money he had advanced. He then placed me on very easy terms with a man of large business in a more reputable line ; but I was never considered as a regular apprentice, and was principally employed in putting up prescriptions and compounding medicines. I was, notwithstanding, well treated in every respect but the principal one, for no pains were taken to give me an idea of the profession I was to live by. I read novels and poetry, and began to contribute to Magazines and Diaries. My Master occasionally prophesy'd my ruin, and my Father advised me to quit such follies ; but the former would sometimes laugh at the things he condemned, and my Father was a rhymers himself. I therefore paid little attention to these instructions, but was happy to find my signature in the Lady's Magazine was known to all the Ladies round the place I liv'd in. After four years I left my master according to our agreement : he is a man much esteemed in his profession and I believe he knows something of it, but I had not the good for-

tune to find it communicated to me. My father at this time was much distressed, and could not send me to London for the usual improvements. I meant to serve in a shop, but an unlucky opportunity offer'd itself at Aldbro', the Apothecary there was become infamous by his bad conduct, and his enemies invited me to fix there immediately. My father urged it, and my pride assented: I was credited for the shatter'd furniture of an Apothecary's shop, and the drugs that stocked it. I began to assume my late master's manner, and having some conscientious scruples I began to study also: I read much, collected extracts, and translated Latin books of Physic with a view of double improvement: I studied the *Materia Medica* and made some progress in Botany. I dissected dogs and fancied myself an anatomist, quitting entirely poetry, novels, & books of entertainment. After one year, I left my little business to the care of a neighbouring surgeon, and came to London, where I attended the Lectures of Messrs. Orme and Lowder, on Midwifery, and occasionally stole round the hospitals to observe those remarkable cases, which might indeed, but which probably never would, occur to me again. On my return I found my substitute had contracted a close intimacy with my rival. He cheated me and lost my

business. The second woman who committed herself to my care, died before the month after her delivery was expired ; and the more I became qualified for my profession, the less occasion I found for these qualifications. My business was the most trifling and lay amongst the poor. I had a sister who starved with me ; and on her account, it now pains me to say we often wanted bread ; we were unwilling to add to my father's distress by letting him see ours, and we fasted with much fortitude. Every one knew me to be poor ; I was dunned for the most trifling sums, and compelled to pay the rent of my hut weekly, for my landlord was Justice of the Corporation and a man of authority. My druggist, a good-natured Quaker, gave me some friendly hints. My friends and advisers who had been zealous for my fixing in this place, entirely deserted me, for this reason only, that I had not been successful by following their advice. After three years spent in the misery of successful struggle, I found it necessary for me to depart, and I came to London.

That part of my conduct which I am about to relate, I am afraid will be greatly disapproved, & I shall be happy to find Sir, you think it not more than foolish and inconsiderate. I knew the wages of a journeyman apothecary were trifling, &

that nothing could be saved from them towards discharging the obligations I lay under. It became me to look for something more ; I was visionary, and looked to him from whom no help cometh.

My father, some years since, attended at the House of Commons on some election business, & he was also with the minister ; I recollected to have heard him speak with some pleasure of Lord North's condescension and affability ; and renouncing physic, I resolved to apply for employment in any department that I should be thought qualified for ; I drew up a long and labour'd account of my motives for this application, & to prove my ignorance in the proper method of managing such applications, I accompanied my petition with a volume of verses, which I beg'd leave to submit to his Lordship's perusal. I was admitted to Lord North on my second calling, and treated with more attention than I now should expect, though with none of that affability I had been led to hope for ; what I still wonder at, is the civil part of his lordship's behavior ; my request was idle and unreasonable, he might, with the greatest propriety, have dismiss'd me instantly, but whether through want of thought, or with an inclination to punish me, he gave me hope, was sorry for my circumstances, enquired who could



recommend me, and was satisfied with those I named: he ordered me to apply again, and fixed a day. I am even now astonished at this unnecessary and cruel civility, it has greatly added to the inconveniences I now labour under, besides the anxiety of a long attendance growing daily more hopeless; for not only on the day fixed, but on all other days I went regularly to Downing Street, but from my first to my last interview with his Lordship were three months. I had only a variation in the mode of answer as the porter was more or less inclined to be civil, the purport of all was the same: I wrote and entreated his Lordship to accept or refuse me: I related my extreme poverty and my want of employment, but without effect. I again beg'd him to give some message to his servant, by which I might be certain that I had nothing further to hope for: this also was ineffectual. At last I had courage to offer so small a sum as half a crown, and the difficulty vanished: His Lordship's porter was now civil, and his Lordship surly; he dismiss'd me instantly and with some severity.

I had now recourse to my rhymes, and sent a hasty production to Mr. Dodsley, who returned it, observing that he could give no consideration for it, not because it wanted merit, but the town wanted

attention; he was very obliging in his reply, for I am now convinced it does want merit. Mr. Becket returned me a similar answer to an application of the same kind. I yet indulged a boyish opinion of my productions, and determined to publish; fortunately however I had hitherto conceal'd my name, and I continued to do so. Nichols, who had printed some remains of Dryden and other poets, was for this reason fixed upon to usher my piece on the world; he printed 250 copies of "An Epistle to the Authors of the Monthly Review," which I believe are now in the warehouse of Mr. Payne the bookseller, as I never heard of any sale they had. My patrons spoke of my poem rather favourably; but Mes<sup>rs</sup>. the Critical Reviewers trim'd me handsomely, and though I imputed this in a great measure to envy, I was very glad that I had not exposed my name on the occasion.

I now began to think more humbly of my talents: disappointment diminished my pride and increased my prudence. I solicited a subscription. Mr. Nassau, the late member for Malden, was well known to me, and this led me to apply to his brother for a permission to prefix his name to a dedication. Lord Rochford assented, but bade me hope more from the merit of my productions than that permission. I conveyed my proposals to my friends and obtained about 150

names, chiefly at Beccles, which are since increased, and are something more than 200. I have acquainted these people with the alteration in my intention, but I am desired to send my poem in whatever manner it comes out, and this is that certainty I spoke of to Mr. Dodsley. During a long interval betwixt my disappointment at Downing Street and that necessity which compelled me to write to you, Sir, it would be painful to me, and tedious to you, to relate the distress I felt and the progress of my despair; I knew that my subscribers would not more than pay for the printing their volumes. I was contracting new debts, and unable to satisfy old demands. I lived in terror, was imposed upon, & submitted to insults, and at length so threatened, that I was willing to make use of any expedient that would not involve me in guilt as well as vexation. I could accuse myself but of folly and imprudence and these lessen'd by inexperience, and I thought that if my circumstances were known, there would be found some to relieve me. I looked as well as I could into every character that offered itself to my view, & resolved to apply where I found the most shining abilities, for I had learned to distrust the humanity of weak people in all stations. You, Sir, are well acquainted with the result of my deliberation, and I have in one instance at least reason to applaud my own judgment.

It will perhaps be asked how I could live near twelve months a stranger in London and coming without money: it is not to be supposed I was immediately credited—it is not—my support arose from another source. In the very early part of my life I contracted some acquaintance, which afterwards became a serious connexion, with the niece of a Suffolk gentleman of large fortune. Her mother lives with her three daughters at Beccles; her income is but the interest of £1500, which at her decease is to be divided betwixt her children. The brother makes her annual income about £100: he is a rigid œconomist, and though I have the pleasure of his approbation, I have not the good fortune to obtain more, nor from a prudent man could I perhaps expect so much. But from the family at Beccles I have every mark of their attention, and every proof of their disinterested regard. They have from time to time supplied me with such sums as they could possibly spare, and that they have not done more arose from my concealing the severity of my situation, for I would not involve in my errors or misfortunes a very generous and very happy family by which I am received with unaffected sincerity, and where I am treated as a son by a mother who can have no prudential reason to rejoice that her daughter has

formed such a connexion. It is this family I lately visited, & by which I am pressed to return, for they know the necessity there is for me to live with the utmost frugality, & hopeless of my succeeding in town they invite me to partake of their little fortune, and as I cannot mend my prospects, to avoid making them worse. This, Sir, is my situation: I have added—I have suppressed nothing; I am totally at a loss how to act, & what to undertake. I cannot think of living with my friends without a view of some employment or design, & I can form none, & I cannot continue in town without such, where the expense is (to me) much greater; my present undertaking can be of no material service I find, and the unlucky circumstance of printing so much of my miscellany renders it less so. I finish this tedious account by intreating your consideration on my present state and my future prospects. I cease to flatter myself, Sir; I only wish to live and to be as little a burden as possible to my friends, but my indiscretion and my ill fortune have so far carried me away that it requires a better judgment than my own to determine what is right for me to do; I do not wish, Sir, to obtrude my affairs too much upon you, but you have assisted and advised me, & even exclusive of the advantage I reap from your directions, I judged

it right to give you this account : for all that is past I most sincerely thank you ; you have comforted, you have relieved, you have honoured me ; what is to come is in a situation like mine particularly mysterious ; but whatever comes I will be grateful, & with a remembrance of the benefits I have received I will ever cherish the highest respect for the name and virtues of my generous benefactor.

I will wait upon you, Sir, as soon as possible with a fresh copy of my poem, correct as I have power to make it. In this I shall yet presume to ask your opinion ; on any other subject it will now become me to be silent ; thus far I feel a satisfaction from what I have written, that it is entirely unreserved, and that it goes to one who knows how to allow for indiscretion & to pity misfortune. I am, Sir,

Most respectfully,

Your much oblig'd and obed<sup>t</sup> servant,

GEO. CRABBE.

*Bishopsgate Street, June 26<sup>a</sup>.*

FROM EDMUND BURKE TO SIR CHARLES  
BUNBURY.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,

I think there is much appearance of good nature and generosity in D<sup>r</sup>. Warren's letter, &

in his procedure ; but hardly quite so much delicacy as one would wish to go along with such dispositions. On what grounds does he suspect, or seem to suspect Crabbe's moral character ? Dudley Long says he has the best that is possible, among all those he has always lived with. He had even when I saw him some smattering of Greek, and I dare say what would do on the common examination for orders. He has been studying since I saw him. It is a disadvantage to him that he always puts the worst face on his own qualifications. This year's quarantine would be far more necessary for nine-tenths of those who are put into orders without all this rigour, and who have not other qualifications to compensate their wants.

I shall probably see Fox at the Westminster meeting, which will bring on a truce for the poor partridges. He is much in the right to shoot his pleasures flying. Plan and foresight are good for nothing in that affair ; not much when one would expect better things of them. I wish the winter as well as the summer was thus spent by him & all of us. I do not know where the use is of wasting his abilities. Prodigality, indeed, belongs to such riches, but one wishes to see great causes produce great effects : it is disgusting when they do not. I know he differs from me in this, and, as men like him

generally do, forms large designs. But it will not do. A change must be in the general character of the people wrought by some means or other, and I am quite sure that parliamentary debates, even his, will never bring this about.

I am, with most sincere regard,

My D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>,

Faithfully yours,

EDM. BURKE.

*Beaconsfield,*

*Oct 4, 1781.*

FROM HORACE WALPOLE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF ORFORD, TO HENRY WILL<sup>m</sup> BUNBURY, ESQ<sup>r</sup>.

I AM just come, S<sup>r</sup>, from the Royal Academy, where I had been immediately struck, as I always am by y<sup>r</sup> works, by a most capital drawing of Richmond hill—but what was my surprise and pleasure—for I fear the latter preceded my modesty, when I found y<sup>r</sup> note and read that so very fine a performance was destined for me! This is a true picture of my emotions, S<sup>r</sup>; but I hope you will believe that I am not less sincere when I assure you that the first moment's reflection told me how infinitely, S<sup>r</sup>, you think of overpaying me for the poor, tho' just, tribute of my praise in a trifling work, whose chief merit is its having avoided flattery. Your genius, S<sup>r</sup>, cannot



want *that*, and still less, my attestation; but when you condescend to reward *this*, I doubt I shall be a little vain, for when I shall have such a certificate to produce, how will it be possible to remain quite humble? I must beg you, S<sup>r</sup>, to accept my warmest and most grateful thanks, which are doubled by your ingenious delicacy in delivering me in this very agreeable manner from the pain I felt in fearing that I had taken too much liberty with you.

I am, S<sup>r</sup>, with great respect,

Y<sup>r</sup> infinitely obliged

Humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

HOR. WALPOLE.

*Berkeley Square,  
April 28, 1781.*

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO SIR CHARLES  
BUNBURY.\*

DEAR BUNBURY,

I found on my arrival in London so many infamous and rascally lies fabricated relative to the

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\* Sir Charles Bunbury was one of the stewards, and for many years one of the most influential members of the Jockey Club. The occurrence to which the present letter alludes, made a great noise at the time. One of the Prince of Wales's horses (Escape) had lost a race which he was expected to win, and

affair y<sup>t</sup> happened at Newmarket, by republican scribblers and studiously circulated thro' the country, that I judge it absolutely necessary that these calumnies sh<sup>d</sup> be contradicted in the most authentick manner. After having consulted with many of my friends, I leave what has passed, and the mode of contradiction, to be discussed between you and my friend Sheridan, who has been so good as to undertake the arrangement of this unpleasant business for me, and wh<sup>ch</sup> is of more consequence than you can imagine. I am, dear Bunbury, very sincerely

Y<sup>rs</sup>,

GEORGE P.

*Carlton House,  
Nov. 6, 1791.*

P.S.—If you think any further inquiries are necessary respecting Chiffney, I only beg you will see such steps taken as you think most proper.

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had won when he was expected to lose. The sporting world raised a furious clamour, which was re-echoed in the newspapers and clubs of London. Imputations of foul play were cast very generally on the prince's jockey (Chiffney): and there were even found persons so audaciously disposed as to throw dirt at His R. H. himself. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

FROM EDMUND BURKE TO MRS. BUNBURY.

MY DEAR MADAM,

On looking over some papers which lay bundled on my table, to my no small astonishment and shame, I see a letter from you, of so long a date as the thirteenth of August. It was such, indeed, as called for my early as well as my warmest acknowledgments. Your approbation of any thing I do is a satisfaction I feel very sensibly. From your childhood I have admired your heart, and had a very good opinion of your judgment; and wished you all manner of happiness with an affection which might without violence be called paternal; since the partiality of your family and friends, as well as your own, have placed me in something resembling a relationship of which I should be proud if it were real.\* Mrs. Burke is in the same sentiments, and desires her most affectionate compliments. I am sorry that I have to condole with you on what you must feel

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\* *Note.*—Mr. Burke and his cousin had been the trustees appointed under the will of Mrs. Bunbury's father, Captain Kane Horneck, to administer his property for the benefit of his widow and his three infant children. The Editor wishes he could add that the Burkes discharged their trust in such a manner as to leave their names free from reproach.

with the greatest sensibility. Our old friend, that great ornament of his country and delight of society, S<sup>r</sup> Joshua Reynolds, is in a very declining way, and with very little hope of recovery.

Will you forgive a neglect for which I cannot forgive myself? We go to Town to-morrow; and I trust we may have the happiness of seeing you there.

I am, with most sincere respect and regard,

My dear Madam,

Your most faithful, obed<sup>t</sup> humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

*Beaconsfield, Feb. 1st, 1792.*

EDM. BURKE.

FROM MRS. JORDAN TO HENRY WM. BUNBURY,  
ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

I should think myself very unconscionable indeed were I to be angry at a censure which comes attended by so many flattering testimonies of approbation, and were your criticisms upon *the beard neglected* doubly severe, they are so softened by the praise you bestow, unworthily I fear, upon the rest of my performance of the character, that I cannot but be, upon the whole, far from displeased; be assured I shall faithfully attend to them——Your kind offer about the box is, from the many applications I have received, quite unnecessary, and I have every reason

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to hope my benefit will be very productive; how poor Nell will turn out I am under some alarm about, as I do not think I shall be able to fulfill the too sanguine expectations which I hear are formed of it. If it succeeds, I shall not forget who first suggested to me the idea of playing it; and if it does not, you must be indebted to the same gift of memory for your pardon for drawing me into such a scrape, and comply with a promise you formerly made me,—which I hope you have not suff<sup>d</sup> to escape you,—of taking my picture.—If you knew the hurry I am now in, you would readily excuse the shortness of this letter, and, indeed, wonder how I could find time to write at all.

I am, dear Sir,

Your much obliged and obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>,

D. JORDAN.

*Gower St. Tuesday even<sup>g</sup>.*

#### FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Richmond, July 3<sup>d</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>.*

DEAR SIR,

The experience I have had of your good-nature and humanity, and the high opinion I must ever retain of them, emboldens me to make this application to you, in favour of a worthy old officer, whose history is nearly as follows: He was a stanch loyalist

in America, and consequently lost all his property there, which, by all accounts, was very considerable, and in consequence of it is *now*, and *has been*, for a long time in *great distress*. The favour I have to request of you *is this* ; He has two daughters who are very highly *accomplished*, and have to dispose of some very *beautiful* and *curious pieces of needle-work*, done at the request of the Queen of *France*: they are, in consequence of her death, left on their hands—they have try'd every means of selling them—to no purpose ; they therefore mean (as the only chance of getting rid of them) to divide them into different lots, and to have them raffled for at Richmond, after they have been publicly exhibited ; previous to which they wish Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of York, to see them, as an acknowledged judge of all kind of needle-work,—and if you will prevail on her to sanction the raffle by giving her name to the subscription in addition to the Duke of Clarence's (who has been, as he always is on those occasions, every thing that is humane) it may be the means of saving a poor old man and his family from impending ruin. After saying *this*, any further apology to you would be unnecessary. If you succeed, have the goodness to let me know what day H. R. H. will see them, as the poor man lives in Chelsea.—With every sincere

good wish for your health and happiness, and for that of *all* those *most dear* to you, I remain yours,

Very gratefully,

D. JORDAN.

The Queen and Princesses have seen the work, and said they were the most *extraordinary performances* they ever saw ; but still the poor man *wants a dinner*.

MADAME DE GENLIS TO SIR CHARLES BUNBURY.

*Londres, ce 26 7<sup>me</sup>, 1792.*

JE ne puis résister, monsieur, au désir de vous exprimer la reconnoissance et la sensibilité que je conserverai éternellement de vos charmantes attentions pour nous à Bury, et de l'intérêt que vous avez montré pour nous à Mademoiselle d'Orléans et à Pamela, qui m'en ont parlé avec le plus vif attendrissement. Croyez, monsieur, que nous ne perdrons jamais un tel souvenir ; il nous adoucira les cruels chagrins qui nous accablent, et nous consolera des méchancetés et des injustes persécutions. Comme votre amitié, et l'aimable franchise qui vous caractérise, m'autorisent à vous parler avec une entière confiance, je vous avouerai naturellement que j'ai été profondément affligée de voir toute la famille de Lady Gage se refroidir excessivement pour

nous à mesure que les malheurs de notre pays auroient dûs au contraire augmenter leur amitié pour nous. Ce refroidissement m'a été surtout sensible de la part de Miss Fergus, à laquelle je m'étois véritablement attachée, et à laquelle je m'intéresserai toujours malgré l'extrême indifférence qu'elle m'a montrée en partant ; je crois devoir lui écrire, et comme je ne veux pas que l'on puisse dire que cette lettre n'est pas ce qu'elle doit être, je désire que vous en jugiez ; je vous l'envoie ouverte, et je vous prie de la lire, et ensuite de la cacheter et de la lui faire parvenir.

Nous espérons vous voir à Londres dans un mois ; ce sera pour nous une grande consolation et un sensible plaisir ; et nous attendons ce moment avec une vive impatience.

Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance des tendres sentimens d'attachement avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être votre très-humble et très-obéissante servante,

SILLERY BRULART.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Ce 20 7<sup>bre</sup>, 1793.*

VOUS m'avez montré, monsieur, tant d'amitié, de bonté, et d'obligeance pendant notre long séjour à Bury, que j'ai la confiance de vous recommander



une affaire digne de tout l'intérêt d'une âme telle que la vôtre. Quand vous aurez lu la note qui est au bas de cette lettre, je suis certaine que vous partagerez tout l'intérêt que m'inspire cet incomparable jeune homme. J'ai d'ailleurs les plus grandes obligations à sa respectable famille, et si vous pouvez lui être utile, ce sera pour moi l'éternel sujet de la plus vive et de la plus tendre reconnaissance. Tout ce que demande pour M. Constant est un prompt jugement. Je vous supplie donc de lui donner à cet effet des recommandations qui, venant d'une main telle que la vôtre, lui seront infiniment utiles.

Depuis que je vous ai quitté je n'ai passé que \* \* \* jours dans ma malheureuse patrie, et malgré mes malheurs je m'en félicite d'après tous les excès monstrueux où l'on s'est porté, en commençant par la meurtre du Roi; mais j'ai porté partout le souvenir de mes amis d'Angleterre, et par conséquent le vôtre. *My dear Sir*, daignez, je vous supplie, compter à jamais sur la reconnaissance et la tendre amitié que je vous ai vouées pour la vie.

*Note.*

Monsieur Charles Constant, d'une des meilleures familles de Suisse, et fils de M. Constant de Genève, dont la réputation est le juste prix dû à ses talens et

à ses vertus, se vit ruiné par une suite de malheurs. Son fils Charles, qui est un de ces êtres rares que le ciel envoie de tems en tems pour prouver à quel point de perfection peut aller la nature humaine, réunit à un génie et un esprit supérieur la sensibilité et l'énergie qui lui inspirèrent à l'âge de 16 ans la résolution de réparer à quelque prix que ce fût les malheurs de sa respectable famille. Il s'intrigua et parvint à se procurer une place dans la compagnie impériale résidente à Canton en Chine. La longueur de ce pénible voyage ne l'effraya point ; il partit, et revint 5 ou 6 ans après en Europe, avec une petite pacotille assez honnête. Arrivé au port, et prêt à revenir recevoir pour récompense de ses travaux la bénédiction de sa famille, il apprend que son associé a fait banqueroute, et que sa fortune entière est perdue. Au lieu de perdre courage, il a celui de remonter à l'instant même sur un vaisseau et de retourner tout droit en Chine, moins avancé que la première fois parcequ'on avoit disposé de sa place ; mais il étoit connu, et il en obtint bien vite une autre. Il recommence sur nouveaux frais, et à force de travail et de bonne conduite il est encore au bout de quelques années en état de venir rejoindre sa famille et leur faire partager son aisance. Pour cette fois il arrive auprès d'eux, mais à peine y est-il, que la compagnie

se dissout, et tout ce qu'il avoit gagné se trouve encore perdu. Tout autre se seroit rebuté; mais lui prend encore la résolution de retourner pour la troisième fois à la Chine, où il est sûr de trouver des amis, des protecteurs, et pour cette fois d'y travailler pour son propre compte, et de ne plus s'attacher ni à un associé ni à aucune compagnie. Il y retourne donc, et fait si bien que dans l'espace de quatre ans il regagne une fortune très-honnête, qu'il se hâte d'apporter à sa famille. Il frète lui-même un vaisseau à Canton, le charge uniquement de ses effets et de toute sa fortune. A cette distance il ignoroit la déclaration de guerre entre la France et l'Angleterre; mais comme elle étoit probable, il prend un pavillon Toscan qui est neutre, et part avec le courage qu'il a toujours mis à ses entreprises. Il rencontre des armateurs Anglois, qui l'arrêtent : après avoir vu son pavillon et ses lettres de marque, ils reconnoissent n'avoir aucun droit de l'attaquer et le laissent passer. Un vaisseau de guerre le convoya même pendant quelque tems : enfin il arrive heureusement à la vue du port d'Ostende : au moment où il alloit y entrer, et où il se croyoit bien à l'abri de tout malheur, un bâtiment anglois passe, l'attaque, le prend, et emmène son vaisseau et tout ce qu'il possède en Angleterre, ne veut entendre à aucune raison, et

en fait sa propriété. M. Charles Constant \* est à Londres et demande justice. Il lui est aisé à prouver sa neutralité et comme Suisse, et comme ayant pavillon Toscan.

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\* M. Charles de Constant was of a noble family near Geneva, and a cousin of the celebrated Benjamin de Constant. Madame de Genlis gives, in this letter, a sketch of the unconquerable perseverance which marked his character in early life, and which failed not to the end. The integrity of his principles was not inferior to the unbending resolution with which he maintained them; and with these qualities were united quick feelings, a lively turn of mind, extensive knowledge, and agreeable powers of conversation. M. de Constant became the friend of Sir Samuel Romilly, Dr. and Mrs. Marcet, Mr. Malthus, and other distinguished persons in England, as well as of Dumont, Madame de Staël, and many of the most eminent of his countrymen. In his latter years, residing close to Geneva, he came to be perhaps the most influential member of the Council and Government of his native state, though reduced to very moderate circumstances, and shaken by domestick afflictions. In the spring of 1835, he was tempted to visit his numerous friends in England, but at the end of a few weeks he was attacked by a fatal malady, and he died in London in the month of July following.

The circumstances of M. de Constant's cause in our Courts of Admiralty, to which the letter from Madame de Genlis has reference, were very remarkable, and excited a good deal of public interest. I am inclined to believe that my readers will be thankful to me for laying before them the following account, which has been very obligingly communicated to me by a gentleman who knew M. de Constant intimately, and has had access to his manuscript papers.

“Returning from China, he embarked with his property on

## GENERAL DUMOURIEZ TO MR. FOX.

*Bruxelles, le 4 Avril, 1793.*

Homme célèbre, vous avez depuis long-tems tout mon intérêt et mon estime. Je crois jouir des mêmes sentimens de votre part. Je ne m'adresse

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board the *Etrusco*, a vessel under Imperial colours, and commanded by Capt. Popham, who afterwards entered the Royal Navy, and became Admiral Sir Home Popham. The ship was freighted on the joint account of Popham, Constant, and another person, a native of France. On their way home (1793) they learnt the breaking out of the war between England and France, which gave them great uneasiness. They however made for Cork, and took advantage of a convoy to the Thames, of which the *Etrusco* was appointed the signal-ship, Popham being very expert in this way. Capt. Sutherland of the —, under whose charge was the convoy, when about half way, sent for Constant, and told him that he understood they were French property and a good prize: Constant, however, explained that he was a native of Switzerland, and related the whole circumstances of his case, for which his papers and family correspondence would vouch; and Capt. Sutherland, after holding a council with his officers, told Constant that the *Etrusco* was at liberty to proceed to its destination. They accordingly made for Portsmouth, where Constant disembarked, Popham proceeding to Ostend; but arriving there at low water, an English frigate boarded him under the walls of the place, seized his ship, and carried it into the Thames as a lawful prize. For two years the ship and cargo were kept in the river; the cargo deteriorating in value, and the whole of Constant's papers, including his journal and correspondence, having been sent to Doctors' Commons, some idle proctors, who found entertainment in reading it, sent scraps and extracts

ni à des Rois, ni à des Ministres dans mon infortune. Je suis Dumouriez, j'écris à Fox. Je ne vous ferai pas l'apologie de ma conduite, l'histoire me jugera. Lisez le Moniteur : voyez-y toutes les pièces que

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from it to the newspapers. At the end of two years' vexatious and expensive proceedings, the ship and cargo were declared *prima facie* lawful prize; and were sold for about a third of their original cost. A suit was afterwards instituted in Doctors' Commons for a final adjudication; and, after another two years, the first judgment was affirmed. An appeal was however lodged by Constant to the Privy Council, but by the time the appeal came to be heard, which was not till after two years' further delay, Sir John Nicholl, who had been his counsel, was promoted to the situation of king's advocate, and became his opponent, with a full knowledge of his former client's case; a circumstance to which Constant never alluded without strong terms of indignation. Sir John Nicholl however assured him, and probably with truth, that he might rely on the Judges deciding from the merits of the case, and not on the statements of the advocates on either side. The proceedings had by that time attracted public attention, Constant having many friends, who justly considered him as an injured man. There was accordingly a great concourse of people at the Privy Council on the occasion of the hearing of the appeal, and of the judgment by which the decision of the lower courts was reversed. But by that time Constant's share of the property was sadly reduced; the costs alone amounting to several thousand pounds; besides that Constant's capital had purchased a portion of both Popham's and the Frenchman's shares, which were clearly good prizes. Popham having, however, rendered some services in Flanders, and being in great favour with the Duke of York, Mr. Pitt restored him such a portion of the proceeds of the whole venture as belonged to the Crown, as droits of admiralty; which portion amounted to no less a sum than

l'imprudence de la Convention livre à l'impression, et jugez-moi.

Je m'étais retiré à l'Armée Impériale ; j'y ai trouvé un accueil honorable. Les guerriers ont un fonds de franchise et de générosité qui ne peut pas

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£20,000 ; so that Constant, who had been detained several years in England, and had lost two-thirds of his hard-earned property, was ultimately in a much worse condition than Sir Home Popham, who had knowingly embarked in a trade illegal for British subjects. But Constant was not at the end of his troubles ; for the owners of the ship, Messrs. Charnock, of Ostend, brought an action against him in the King's Bench, in respect of advances on the security of the ship and cargo, which he was obliged to compromise. When he settled his lawyer's bill for this last suit, he observed a charge for £5. 5s. as a general retainer to Mr. Erskine, who had been Messrs. Charnocks' counsel ; and on his remonstrating against it, his solicitor told him it was quite useless. Constant, however, directed an application to be made to Erskine on the subject, which proving ineffectual, he called upon him, and on Erskine's taking the matter with a high hand, Constant told him, that although a foreigner, he could muster English enough to state his case to the public, and Erskine seeing him so much in earnest, called his clerk, and desired the fee to be restored to him. There was perhaps a little pertinacity in this reclaiming of five guineas where several thousands had gone before, but Constant had an indomitable sense of wrong ; and never would desist when dealing with injustice, or what he thought to be injustice."

"The Duc de Broglie was acquainted with this part of Constant's history, and recommended to him to publish an account of it, considering that a period of peace was the right time for opening the eyes of nations to such flagrant abuses of the *droit du plus fort*. But philanthropy has never yet taken the turn of considering, during peace, the means of alleviating the miseries of war."

être égaré par la politique. Une proclamation du Prince de Cobourg m'y avait attiré ; une seconde m'oblige à fuir. Je ne peux pas être l'instrument du Machiavelisme et de l'oppression. Je n'ai ni asyle ni argent, je vais chercher momentanément le premier en Suisse. Mes Mémoires, que je vais écrire, me donneront, à ce que j'espère, une subsistence modique mais honorable, et que je ne devrai qu'à moi seul. Croyez-vous qu'en cas que les Cantons aient la faiblesse de craindre de se compromettre en me donnant asyle, je puisse en trouver un à Londres ? Croyez-vous que je puisse y être distingué des trop malheureux et trop imprudents émi-grés ? Croyez-vous que je puisse y ouvrir la souscription de mes Mémoires ? C'est tout mon bien. Je n'ai que 54 ans ; j'ai trois ou quatre personnes liées à mon sort, et par rapport à eux il faut que je renonce à l'orgueil de rester pauvre comme Epaminondas. Répondez-moi à tous ces articles. Regardez ma démarche comme la preuve de ma très-sincère estime. Adressez-moi votre lettre poste restante à Schaffouse, et regardez-moi comme votre admirateur et par conséquent votre ami.

LE G<sup>AL</sup> DUMOURIEZ.



FROM JEREMY BENTHAM TO SIR CHARLES  
BUNBURY.

*Hendon, Middlesex, Oct. 31, 1793.*

DEAR SIR,

I have just received from Mr. Philip Metcalfe a letter dated Brighton, 29<sup>th</sup> Oct., in which are these words:—"I have heard from my brother that they mean to erect a new jail at Bury. Now is your time to apply to Sir Cha<sup>s</sup>. Bunbury, who is on the spot, and I hope has some of your plans."

Having thus legal notice of the measure, for which I am much obliged to our friend's attentive zeal, I can do no otherwise than trouble you with this letter, to say that I have put myself in a *state of permanent requisition*, ready to pay the promptest and most punctual obedience to any commands with which you may think fit to honour me in relation to the subject. With regard to every thing that is personal to myself, my wishes are abundantly gratified by the national establishment: but for the benefit of the country, should my humble endeavours prove successful in its service, my ambition goes to no less than the becoming, under the auspices of Sir Charles Bunbury, Jailor, as Lord Kenyon is Chief Justice of all England. Either I am mistaken, or I

could save money to the gentlemen of the county, to say nothing of what they will look upon as the more important saving, that of misery and wickedness to the prisoners. But if those gentlemen, upon your favourable report, should do me the honour to think so, what I should be inclined to recommend, and what I imagine would recommend itself to them, as the most cautious and prudent course that can be adopted, is to wait if the exigency be not too pressing, till the practicability and utility of the Panopticon mode of construction has been proved or disproved by the experiment which is so speedily to be made, and upon so large a scale.

I am at present occupied, at the recommendation of authority, in preparing a bill for Mr. Pitt to bring in for that purpose at the opening of the session.

I submit this idea, not through laziness, but merely as that which seems to bid fairest for the approbation of third persons. Should despatch be preferred, I am now and at all times at the command of the gentlemen in question, for there is no trouble which I should grudge in such a cause.

I have the honour to be, with the truest respect,

Your most obedient,

And much obliged humble servant,

JEREMY BENTHAM.

P.S.—Though I date as above, for the moment, you will please to consider me for all purposes of business as constantly in town.

Sir Charles Bunbury.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Q. S. P. April 7 , 1794.*

DEAR SIR CHARLES,

You will have the goodness to remember that it is not in fact with Mr. *Dundas* that the business sticks, but with Mr. PITT; and that no reason appears for suspecting even Mr. Pitt's delay to arise from any other cause than indolence, insensibility and indifference. Mr. Pitt made an appointment about a fortnight ago with Mr. Dundas to talk with him on the subject; and when the time came, and Mr. Dundas began the subject—"No, not a word to-day, Mr. Dundas, about *Bentham*; to-morrow, all day long if you please." These were the *very words*. What happened on the morrow I have not heard. This being the case, Mr. Dundas will not care how much he is pressed by you, since the more he is pressed by you, the more he will be able to press Mr. Pitt. What it becomes you to say on your own account is not for me so much as to hint: but in speaking of me, you may say that consider-

ing the length matters have gone, the intimations I have received, and what I have done in consequence, I consider myself as being very cruelly and ungenerously treated, by being thus kept in hot water for two or three months together, without being able to get a single word in answer, in spite of incessant sollicitations, nor the smallest particle of encouragement in any shape in return for the honest exertions they know I have been making in all manner of shapes in the public cause—that I heartily repent ever having embarked in the business, and especially in having reposed the confidence I did in their repeated intimations, and should think myself very happy were it possible for me to be put in the same plight that I was in at the commencement of it.

I inclose some queries relative to matters of fact, which I could wish were put in private to M<sup>r</sup>. Dundas: the same queries you would have, in case of necessity, to put to him in parliament, and what answers would he or M<sup>r</sup>. Pitt be able to give to them?

I am, dear Sir,

Ever your most obliged,

J<sup>y</sup>. BENTHAM.

Sir Charles Bunbury.

*Queries for Mr. Dundas, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1794.*

1. Whether M<sup>r</sup>. B. was not twice called upon to “*make his arrangements*,” on the supposition of his proposals being accepted, viz. once by M<sup>r</sup>. Dundas and M<sup>r</sup>. Nepean, and again by M<sup>r</sup>. Dundas and M<sup>r</sup>. Pitt?

2. Whether he was not assured that a bill for the purpose would be brought in by administration early in the present session? and whether in his treaty with Lord Spencer he was not authorized to declare as much?

3. Whether the terms of the contract were not *discussed* and *settled* in every article, so long ago as June or July last?

4. Whether administration have not been apprized of the difficulties in which he is involved by their neglect of him, and of the irremediable mischief that has already been the result of it?

5. Whether they have not been apprized of the impossibility of his undertaking to resume the business on the terms agreed on, if put off beyond the present session?

6. Whether they have any thing to object to him in respect to the business, or in any other respect whatever?

7. Whether he has not been employ’d in incessant

sollicitation for the last two months, without being able to get a single word in relation to any point whatever? and whether in particular a letter of the most pressing nature has not been lying unanswered for this week past?

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Q. S. P. 3<sup>d</sup> Dec. 1802.*

DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for the favour of your letter dated 11<sup>th</sup> Oct. Since the day of the meeting of parliament I have been looking out for you in consequence. A few days before that day I sent to your house a copy of a printed but as yet unpublished paper, in the form of a letter, to L<sup>d</sup>. Pelham, comparing Panopticon with N. S. Wales. The visit you were kind enough to announce has been deferred—perhaps till you could have seen L<sup>d</sup>. Pelham—perhaps till you could find time to look over the aforesaid paper. I should have waited on you before now, but it appeared to me that unless you had undergone the previous drudgery of running over those 80 pages, the necessary grounds for conversation would be wanting to us. As it is, I should be happy in receiving your permission to wait upon

you, the instant I knew either that you had read the paper aforesaid, or declined the task.

After the experience that has manifested itself, I should expect to find some deduction from the difference between our respective estimates of the value of the professions contained in the letter you were kind enough to hand over to me. You speak of a "challenge," but I can assure you no such idea was meant by the request I troubled you with. In your kind sollicitude for my own particular fate, you had spoken of "*indemnification*." Observing this, it occurred to me that a natural supposition on L<sup>d</sup>. Pelham's part might be, that it was at my instance you had thrown out that idea, or at least with my concurrence. I had been tried with that bait before, and would not bite at it. All apprehension of trouble or disgrace on their part would from that moment be at an end. Their shame would remain uncovered : the ten years' negotiation about a penitentiary establishment would in the mean time be converted into another negotiation to be continued during the term of my life. The assent to your proposition on that subject cost his lordship little enough ; and it would seem nothing wonderful to me, if he should have conceived himself to have purchased quiet at your hands as well as mine upon

those terms. I was several times on the point of writing to you, to explain this my reason for wishing that his lordship should know, that whatever had been said about indemnification was without my concurrence; after such an explanation, I think you would not have refused me: but finding the matter unpleasant to you, I e'en let it take its chance. A second letter, as announced by the first, is on the point of coming out of the press, after an unexpected course of typographical delays. It will occupy upwards of 60 pages more, of 42 of which I have *proofs*. A 3<sup>d</sup> letter, of perhaps 16 or 18 pages, is reserved for the subject of the *hulks* and the "*improved prisons*." By all together, the subject of *chronical* punishment in its several modifications, in use here and in America, will have received a pretty full discussion. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your obedient and much obliged

JEREMY BENTHAM.

Sir C. Bunbury.



FROM ADMIRAL LORD NELSON TO THE OFFICER  
COMMANDING HIS MAJESTY'S TROOPS IN  
MINORCA.\*

*Palermo, Nov' 12<sup>th</sup>, 1799.*

MY DEAR SIR JAMES,

I am uneasy at not having yet had answers to my last letters by the Salamine, therefore I must in duty again state the very great importance of driving the French out of Malta, and endeavour to impress my opinion by such arguments as offer themselves to my mind.

I consider the great order of all (implied by the commencement of the war) is, to destroy the power of the French; to accomplish this in the quickest and easiest way is the object of all lesser orders, and if it can be proved that a breach of the lesser order is a more strict compliance with the former, then there can be no doubt of the duty of the breach of the lesser order.

I will suppose two regiments ordered to England from Minorca: certainly they not knowing of the

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\* This letter, addressed to Sir James St. Clair Erskine (the late Lord Rosslyn) came to the hands of General the Honourable Henry Fox (father of the Editor's first wife) who had arrived in the interim and taken the command of the troops at Minorca.

important object of possessing Malta to us and our allies, and probably believing from reports that La Vallette would fall to the present force employed against it, the detaining these two regiments for two months would probably, with the assistance of the Russians, give us Malta, liberate us from an enemy close to our door; gratify the Emperor of Russia, protect our Levant trade, relieve a large squadron of ships from this service, and enable me the better to afford naval protection to the island of Minorca, and assist our allies on the northern coast of Italy, and to annoy the enemy on the coast of France.—It would give us one eighty-gun ship,—two forty-gun frigates French, besides a new Maltese seventy-gun ship and two frigates, all ready for sea: with these in the scale against sending away the two Reg<sup>ts</sup>, can there be a doubt as to the propriety of keeping them a little longer? In England or on the continent they would be like a drop of water in the ocean, and here they would be of the importance I have pointed out. I earnestly hope that you and General Fox will see the object in the same way that I do; if unhappily you do not, nor can allow the garrison of Messina to hold post in Malta till a force can be got to attack it, the worst consequences may be apprehended to our trade and that of our allies. I have not yet

received answers from the Russian admirals and general at Naples, the weather has been so very bad. God forbid we should be obliged to give up the idea of taking La Vallette! only the thought of it almost breaks my heart.

I have so many ships looking out for the ships which sailed from Toulon the 16<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup>, that I do not think they can easily get to Malta. I beg that this letter, if General Fox is with you, may be considered as addressed to him as yourself; and ever believe me, with great truth and regard,

Your obliged Friend,

BRONTÉ NELSON.

Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Sir James S<sup>t</sup> Clair Erskine, B<sup>t</sup>,  
or the Commander-in-Chief of the Island of Minorca.

FROM ADMIRAL LORD NELSON TO LIEUT. GEN.  
FOX.

*Palermo, Dec<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>, 1799.*

DEAR SIR,

I have received a letter from the Transport Board, of which I send you a copy, and I am of opinion that a strong letter should be wrote to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Barcelona, or whom else it may concern, our determination to comply with the orders of our government. I venture to send your Excellency a letter signed by me, if you approve of it, if not, I

beg you will either send a letter without my name, or put my name to it, as you please; I send orders to the senior naval officer at Mahon not on any account to send a Cartel without your concurrence. I think, Sir, you will agree with me that His Majesty's declarations to Europe had better never be made unless they are carried rigidly into effect.

Believe me, Dear Sir, with every sentiment of esteem, your Excellency's most obedient

Servant,

BRONTÉ NELSON.

*Mahon.*

SIR,

We demand from your Excellency the exchange of all his Britannick Majesty's subjects, our royal master, in which we not only include all Minorquins, but also all those who may have been captured under the British Flag, and carried into the Ports of Spain; in particular, we claim the exchange by this Flag of Truce, of Mr. Jeremiah Motter, an inhabitant of Minorca. In making these just demands, we expect an instant compliance. We announce to your Excellency, that the severest retaliation shall take place; thus your government will open such a dreadful scene of warfare as has

never yet disgraced Europe, for which they will receive the execration of all good men in this world, and eternal damnation in that which is to come. We reserve to ourselves the right of thinking Mr. Jeremiah Motter have been murdered if he is not returned by this Flag of Truce, the consequences must be dreadful to every feeling heart; therefore we again warn you not to touch a hair of his head. It has, we assure your Excell<sup>y</sup>, given us great pain to have occasion to write this letter to a Spaniard whose honour has hitherto been untarnish'd, and we only hope that it will ever remain so, and are your Excellency's most obedient servants,

BRONTÉ NELSON.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

*Palermo, Jan<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>, 1800.*

DEAR SIR,

We have not had a letter of what is passing on the Continent, since the 10<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>, from Florence, therefore I cannot pretend to give you any news from that quarter. I hope this wind will induce the Russian Ad<sup>l</sup> to sail from Naples; the General, I hear, is much dissatisfied at being kept back. 2000 Russian troops arrived Dec<sup>r</sup> 1st, at Corfu; Gen<sup>l</sup>

Villettes arrived there also the 27<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>; he has found some difficultys about raising the men for such a regular service as ours, but he expects to get over them all without much trouble. As I send your Excellency a letter from Graham, I shall give no opinion about Malta, but I hope that if the fort at the entrance of the Port can be carried, that General Vaubois will be induced to capitulate without further trouble. Every ship which I can get hold of is sent to prevent supplies getting in, therefore what a release it will be to me when it falls. Wishing your Excellency many happy returns of the season, believe me, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

BRONTÉ NELSON.

THE SAME TO THE SAME

*Palermo, Jan<sup>r</sup> 7 , 1800.*

DEAR SIR,

I am honour'd with your Excellency's two letters of Dec<sup>r</sup> 28<sup>th</sup>, and return you the letter for the Captain Gen<sup>l</sup> of Catalonia, I have no doubt but your letter is a most proper one. I hope that you will have permission to assist in getting rid of this long very long business of Malta. The Russians I hope

are there by this time ; they arriv'd at Messina on the 4<sup>th</sup>. As Graham wrote fully to you, he tells me, by the P<sup>ss</sup> Charlotte, I shall not trouble you with any opinion of mine ; all, I trust, will end well ; this country has great calls upon it, and unfortunately has nothing to give. You may depend that Graham shall share the fate of our ships, I shall never suffer him to want if I can beg, borrow, or steal to supply him. Lord Keith is, I dare say, with you at this moment, and I am sure all matters will be much better arranged with him than I have ability of doing. I have only the disposition to do what is right, and the desire of meriting your esteem, for believe me, with great respect, your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

BRONTÉ NELSON.

His Excellency,  
Hon<sup>ble</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Fox.

FROM W. BELSHAM TO CHA<sup>s</sup>. JA<sup>s</sup>. FOX.\*

*Bedford, Dec. 8<sup>a</sup>, 1800.*

SIR,

You have done me very great honour by y<sup>e</sup> attention you have been pleased to pay to the

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\* This and the other letters, addressed to Mr. Fox, which are published in the present volume, were given by his widow to the editor, whose first wife was Mr. Fox's niece.

remarks w<sup>ch</sup> I took y<sup>e</sup> liberty to send you. It appears that there are only shades of difference between us respecting y<sup>e</sup> character of L<sup>d</sup> Sunderland. Upon a gen<sup>l</sup> review of circumstances, I fear however that someth<sup>e</sup> more than a bare acquiescence in y<sup>e</sup> measures of y<sup>e</sup> court—I mean an active concurrence in those measures—must be ascribed to him; and that his apology for remaining in office, “to have it in his power to serve his country as well as he could,” is inadmissible. He had the experience of several years that he could *not* serve his country by remaining in office, but he shewed no intention of relinquishing his honours or emoluments.

I will now venture to offer a few observations upon y<sup>e</sup> historic problems touched upon in y<sup>r</sup> letter, tho’ not being in possession of all y<sup>e</sup> authorities to w<sup>ch</sup> I could wish to refer, I am happy to be instructed by your superior accuracy as well as judgment.

1. I presume that I was led into y<sup>e</sup> mistake of supposing that L<sup>d</sup> S. *repeatedly* voted for y<sup>e</sup> Exclusion Bill by y<sup>e</sup> ambiguity of Ralph’s expression; but certainly one turn more in his politics is much more easy of belief than one turn less.

2. I attributed without hesitation y<sup>e</sup> change about to take place in y<sup>e</sup> measures of K. Charles 2,



principally to y<sup>e</sup> Marquis of Halifax, as y<sup>e</sup> minister chiefly in y<sup>e</sup> king's confidence at this period ; without however meaning to exclude L<sup>d</sup> S<sup>d</sup> or y<sup>e</sup> Duchess of Portsmouth, the latter of whom certainly contributed her influence upon this occasion. That L<sup>d</sup> S. sh<sup>d</sup> be a party concerned in this or any other political intrigue is in itself sufficiently probable, but it seems difficult to account in that case for his rising immediat<sup>y</sup> into such high favour in the new reign. L<sup>d</sup> S. & y<sup>e</sup> Dutchess of P—— w<sup>re</sup> undoubtedly upon ill terms w<sup>th</sup> H—x, but might with different views concur in the same general design.

3. I confess I was not aware that L<sup>d</sup> Godolphin had ever voted for y<sup>e</sup> Exclusion Bill. It must be allowed that in these critical times there was great political tergiversation in y<sup>e</sup> conduct of many persons otherwise highly respectable. After L<sup>d</sup> G. howe<sup>r</sup> had once attached hims<sup>f</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> York party, he appears to have acted with sincerity, & I think was one of y<sup>e</sup> commissioners appointed by y<sup>e</sup> king to treat with y<sup>e</sup> Pr<sup>ce</sup> of Orange.

4. I have said it is morally certain that Sun<sup>d</sup> had secret corresp<sup>ce</sup> w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Pr<sup>ce</sup> of O. at y<sup>e</sup> period immedi<sup>ly</sup> succeed<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> birth of y<sup>e</sup> Pr<sup>ce</sup> of Wales. Of this I think there is satisfactory evidence in D'Avaux & Dalrymple, & the expression of S. himself in his

letter to King William, March 11<sup>th</sup> 1689, seems pretty decisive: “*Long* before y<sup>r</sup> glorious undertaking I cannot but hope you remember how devoted I was to your service.” *Long* cannot well refer to a shorter period than 4 or 5 months. It is true Burnet affirms, vol. II<sup>d</sup>, p. 483, that y<sup>e</sup> Pr<sup>ce</sup> of Orange positively denied being in any sort of correspondence w<sup>th</sup> L<sup>d</sup> S.; but this, as far as appears from y<sup>e</sup> vague phraseology of that historian, might be previous to y<sup>e</sup> birth of y<sup>e</sup> Pr<sup>ce</sup> of Wales, when it was literally true. Probably no correspondence, strictly speak<sup>d</sup>, ever took place between S. and y<sup>e</sup> Prince, but that Sund<sup>d</sup> only communicated his advice & opinions confidentially to Zuylestein. The public conduct of S. from this period evidently shows that he was in y<sup>e</sup> prince’s interests notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> salutary advice given by him to y<sup>e</sup> king & queen, but w<sup>ch</sup> he knew them doubtless too well to build much upon.

5. It must be ack<sup>d</sup> a little embarrassing to be called upon for a direct proof of what it is so much easier to take for granted, the fact of S<sup>rs</sup> having turned Catholic. All the authorities I recollect resolve themselves into that of Burnet (v. II, p. 483) who c<sup>d</sup> not surely, with all his propensity to blunder, be mistaken with regard to so material a fact. Yet it is strange that no mention is made of any recantation

of his Popish errors in y<sup>e</sup> next reign. It seems probable upon reconsidering y<sup>e</sup> loose acco<sup>t</sup> of Burnet that L<sup>d</sup> S<sup>d</sup> was never regularly reconciled to y<sup>e</sup> ch. of Rome, but that he declared to y<sup>e</sup> k. & q. his intention so to be at a proper time, still availing himself of the leave given him by Father Petre to continue in y<sup>e</sup> public profession of Protestantism, & perhaps submitting in the mean time to some foolish form of absolution.

6. I am clearly of opinion, as you also intimate, that y<sup>e</sup> merit claimed by Sunderl<sup>d</sup> (letter to K. W<sup>m</sup> March 8<sup>th</sup> 89) in contributing so importantly to y<sup>e</sup> revolution, must refer not to any particular correspondence w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> prince, not to any advice offered, or any opinions expressed, not in short to words but deeds; and that he alludes to y<sup>e</sup> consummate art by which he kept up y<sup>e</sup> strange delusion of the king—that the warlike preparations in Holland were not designed against England. This opinion the king obstinately maintained notwiths<sup>t</sup> the repeated & authentic advices he received from France to the contrary, fortifying himself in error by the high idea he entertained of Sunderl<sup>d</sup>'s sagacity; & Barillon notices y<sup>e</sup> perfect accordance between y<sup>e</sup> king & y<sup>e</sup> minister on this head. All the advances of amicable interposition on y<sup>e</sup> part of France from y<sup>e</sup> month of

July, when y<sup>e</sup> preparations began in Holland were invariably rejected; and on the presentation of D'Avaux's famous memorial, the idea of w<sup>ch</sup> was suggested by Skelton, that ambass<sup>r</sup> was recalled from Paris and thrown into y<sup>e</sup> Tower. On this occasion it was that Louis 14<sup>th</sup> said, "Y<sup>e</sup> king of England was a man whom it was impossible to save, and that he must be left to his fate." 7. The vindication of the Earl of Sund<sup>d</sup> is undoubtedly a very poor performance, both in respect of stile and matter. In fact, if he had said every thing he c<sup>d</sup> have said to show how importantly he had contributed to y<sup>e</sup> revolution, he w<sup>d</sup> have exhibited his own character in a light which no man w<sup>d</sup> voluntarily chose to do. But it does not appear that L<sup>d</sup> S. was at any time, or on any occasion, an elegant writer or an eloquent speaker. His letter to K. Will<sup>m</sup>, Sep<sup>r</sup>, 1701, discovers indeed great force of mind and power of persuasion, but the language is negligent and ungrammatical. L<sup>d</sup> S<sup>d</sup>'s talent was action, in w<sup>ch</sup> he manifested incomparable sagacity and succeeded to admiration in effecting the purposes he had in view. There are indeed very few who, like yourself, excel eminently in speaking, writing, and action; and certainly it cannot be affirmed either of L<sup>d</sup> Shaftesbury, L<sup>d</sup> Halifax, or L<sup>d</sup> Sunderland, the

three most distinguished political personages of their time. I am quite at a loss to conjecture the meaning of the sentence w<sup>ch</sup> you cite from L<sup>d</sup> S<sup>d</sup>'s apology. Possibly it was—like Swift's enigma—not designed to be understood. The instance you mention of Ralph's inadvertency is very extraordinary. He must certainly have known better. But as D<sup>r</sup> Johnson somewhere observes, "knowledge is not always present."

I am extremely happy that the Remarks on Marsh have to boast the honour of your approbation. The controversy respecting y<sup>e</sup> origin of y<sup>e</sup> war appears something to resemble that relative to transubstantiation. The confidence of the ministerial writers, like that of the popish divines, seems to rise in proportion to y<sup>e</sup> senselessness of their arguments. I must acknowledge myself a little at a loss to conjecture on what points you deem me too candid. If I admit y<sup>e</sup> sincerity of Mr. Pitt's wishes to avoid y<sup>e</sup> war, it is in a very qualified sense. His reluctance did not I am persuaded arise from any generous motive, but from an understanding naturally sagacious, clouded and debased as it has long been by habits of cunning, w<sup>ch</sup> c<sup>d</sup> not but forbode the possibility of disastrous consequences. But from his deficiency in the qualities of a great statesman, he involved him-

self in a situation where he neither felt disposed to proceed, nor knew how to recede. All this, however, I respectfully submit to y<sup>r</sup> superior discernment and means of information; but I may venture with confidence to affirm, that at no period in y<sup>e</sup> history of y<sup>e</sup> world has a conflict more memorable been fought between wisdom and sophistry, and I am sorry to add, with less advantage on the part of reason and truth: but when the people are told, as by Mr. Burke, that "their passions are to instruct their reason," who can wonder at y<sup>e</sup> result of y<sup>e</sup> lesson? I have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup>

And hble serv<sup>t</sup>,

W. BELSHAM.

P. S.—I have no immediate occasion for the papers w<sup>ch</sup> I had the honour of transmitting to you. On y<sup>e</sup> republication of that part of the Hist<sup>y</sup> of G<sup>t</sup> Britain to w<sup>ch</sup> they relate, they may possibly be of some use. Perhaps you will permit me to do myself the honour of calling for them in person some morning next spring, if I should happen to be in the neighbourhood of S<sup>t</sup> Anne's Hill. Is it not probable there may be MSS. in the library of Blenheim w<sup>ch</sup> might throw light on the historical character of L<sup>d</sup> Sunderland?

FROM WILLIAM WORDSWORTH TO THE HON.  
CHARLES JAMES FOX.

*Grasmere, Westmoreland, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1801.*

SIR,

It is not without much difficulty, that I have summoned the courage to request your acceptance of these volumes. Should I express my real feelings, I am sure that I should seem to make a parade of diffidence and humility.

Several of the poems contained in these volumes are written upon subjects, which are the common property of all poets, and which, at some period of your life, must have been interesting to a man of your sensibility, and perhaps may still continue to be so. It would be highly gratifying to me to suppose that even in a single instance the manner in which I have treated these general topics should afford you any pleasure; but such a hope does not influence me upon the present occasion; in truth I do not feel it. Besides I am convinced that there must be many things in this collection, which may impress you with an unfavourable idea of my intellectual powers. I do not say this with a wish to degrade myself; but I am sensible that this must be the case, from the different circles in which we

have moved, and the different objects with which we have been conversant.

Being utterly unknown to you as I am, I am well aware, that if I am justified in writing to you at all, it is necessary my letter should be short; but I have feelings within me, which I hope will so far show themselves in this letter, as to excuse the trespass which I am afraid I shall make.

In common with the whole of the English people, I have observed in your public character a constant predominance of sensibility of heart. Necessitated as you have been from your public situation to have much to do with men in bodies, and in classes, and accordingly to contemplate them in that relation, it has been your praise that you have not thereby been prevented from looking upon them as individuals, and that you have habitually left your heart open to be influenced by them in that capacity. This habit cannot but have made you dear to poets; and I am sure that if, since first your entrance into public life, there has been a single true poet living in England, he must have loved you.

But were I assured that I myself had a just claim to the title of a poet, all the dignity being attached to the word which belongs to it, I do not think that I should have ventured for that reason to



offer these volumes to you : at present it is solely on account of two poems in the second volume, the one entitled " the Brothers," and the other " Michael," that I have been emboldened to take this liberty.

It appears to me that the most calamitous effect, which has followed the measures which have lately been pursued in this country, is, a rapid decay of the domestic affections among the lower orders of society. This effect the present rulers of this country are not conscious of, or they disregard it. For many years past, the tendency of society amongst almost all the nations of Europe has been to produce it. But recently, by the spreading of manufactures through every part of the country, by the heavy taxes upon postage, by workhouses, houses of industry, and the invention of soup-shops, &c. &c. super-added to the increasing disproportion between the price of labour and that of the necessaries of life, the bonds of domestic feeling among the poor, as far as the influence of these things has extended, have been weakened, and in innumerable instances entirely destroyed. The evil would be the less to be regretted if these institutions were regarded only as palliatives to a disease ; but the vanity and pride of their promoters are so subtly interwoven with them, that they are deemed great discoveries and blessings to

humanity. In the mean time parents are separated from their children, and children from their parents; the wife no longer prepares with her own hands a meal for her husband, the produce of his labour; there is little doing in his house in which his affections can be interested, and but little left in it which he can love. I have two neighbours, a man and his wife, both upwards of eighty years of age; they live alone; the husband has been confined to his bed many months, and has never had, nor till within these few weeks has ever needed, any body to attend to him but his wife. She has recently been seized with a lameness which has often prevented her from being able to carry him his food to his bed. The neighbours fetch water for her from the well, and do other kind offices for them both, but her infirmities increase. She told my servant two days ago that she was afraid they must both be boarded out among some other poor of the parish (they have long been supported by the parish), but she said it was hard, having kept house together so long, to come to this, and she was sure that "it would burst her heart." I mention this fact to show how deeply the spirit of independence is, even yet, rooted in some parts of the country. These people could not express themselves in this way without an almost sublime convic-

tion of the blessings of independent domestic life. If it is true, as I believe, that this spirit is rapidly disappearing, no greater curse can befall a land.

I earnestly entreat your pardon for having detained you so long. In the two poems, "The Brothers," and "Michael," I have attempted to draw a picture of the domestic affections as I know they exist amongst a class of men who are now almost confined to the north of England. They are small independent *proprietors* of land, here called statesmen, men of respectable education, who daily labour on their own little properties. The domestic affections will always be strong amongst men who live in a country not crowded with population, if these men are placed above poverty. But if they are proprietors of small estates which have descended to them from their ancestors, the power which these affections will acquire amongst such men is inconceivable by those who have only had an opportunity of observing hired labourers, farmers, and the manufacturing poor. Their little tract of land serves as a kind of permanent rallying point for their domestic feelings, as a tablet upon which they are written, which makes them objects of memory in a thousand instances when they would otherwise be forgotten. It is a fountain fitted to the nature of social man, from

which supplies of affection, as pure as his heart was intended for, are daily drawn. This class of men is rapidly disappearing. You, Sir, have a consciousness, upon which every good man will congratulate you, that the whole of your public conduct has in one way or other been directed to the preservation of this class of men, and those who hold similar situations. You have felt that the most sacred of all property is the property of the poor. The two poems which I have mentioned were written with a view to show that men who do not wear fine cloaths can feel deeply. "*Pectus enim est quod disertos facit, et vis mentis. Ideoque imperitis quoque, si modo sint aliquo affectu concitati, verba non desunt.*" The poems are faithful copies from nature; and I hope, whatever effect they may have upon you, you will at least be able to perceive that they may excite profitable sympathies in many kind and good hearts, and may in some small degree enlarge our feelings of reverence for our species, and our knowledge of human nature, by showing that our best qualities are possessed by men whom we are too apt to consider, not with reference to the points in which they resemble us, but to those in which they manifestly differ from us. I thought, at a time when these feelings are sapped in so many ways, that the two poems

might co-operate, however feebly, with the illustrious efforts which you have made to stem this and other evils with which the country is labouring, and it is on this account alone that I have taken the liberty of thus addressing you.

Wishing earnestly that the time may come when the country may perceive what it has lost by neglecting your advice, and hoping that your latter days may be attended with health and comfort,

I remain,

With the highest respect and admiration,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

W. WORDSWORTH.

FROM D<sup>r</sup> PARR TO THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> CHARLES JA<sup>s</sup> FOX.

D<sup>r</sup> SIR,

I have taken the liberty of enclosing the shorter epitaph for your perusal, and for the benefit of your criticisms. Let me hope that the Duke of Bedford is not without a chance of recovery, for his usefulness in private life, & his integrity in public, make him a most valuable man.

Nec illiusmodi jam magna nobis civium pecunia est.

I thought you perfectly right in beginning your

History at the Revolution ; & in taking a review of the events which preceded, & the causes which produced it. To compress facts into such a form as may include the properties both of statements & principles is, perhaps, the most difficult part of your task. Macintosh told me, that General Fitzpatrick, who, like yourself, is a puri sermonis amator, had seen the introduction, & pronounced it worthy of the subject & the writer. Men of all parties are impatient for the work : but I tell them, that all writing is not History, nor every historian, Mr. Fox.

As to carrying your work through this inauspicious reign, I believe that facts are too fresh to assume the shape of History. You, beyond all men living, should not make the attempt, for obvious reasons ; & for other reasons equally important, you are the very fittest person to prepare materials & directions for future writers.

Have you seen Michael Laing's continuation of Robertson's History of Scotland ? It is disfigured by many scoticisms & forensic quaintnesses : & from the arrangement of good words, as well as the use of bad, it is in some places scarcely intelligible. But it abounds with good sense, good matter, & good principles ; & were Samuel Johnson living, he would almost forgive the anti-monarchical & demo-

cratic notions of Laing, for the sake of his opposition to Macpherson. The critique on Ossian is unanswerable, & inflicts, I think, *την καιριαν* upon the pretended antiquity of the Poem.

I have the honour to be, D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

With the greatest respect and regard,

Your Friend, & most obedient humble servant,

J. PARR.

March 5, (1802?)

BENJAMIN WEST, PREST<sup>r</sup> R.A., TO H. W. BUNBURY, ESQ<sup>r</sup>.

*London, Newman Street, April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1803.*

DEAR SIR,

It has afforded me much pleasure to have received a letter from you, and you should have had my acknowledgement of it before this day, had not I been confined to my bed by severe illness, and a press of academical business which at this time cannot be avoided.

The mode by which a youth is admitted a student into the Royal Academy, is as follows. He must present a drawing of the *Human Figure* to the Keeper, done by himself: the Keeper on seeing the drawing, judges whether the youth is sufficiently grounded in the figure for admittance; if he is, he must then make a drawing in the Academy from

one of the plaster figures, which drawing will be laid before the President and Council, for their approbation—if approved by them, the youth is then admitted a student. You see from the foregoing statement, a youth, to become a Student in the Royal Academy, must have studied the *Human Figure* to qualify himself for admittance into that place: how far the youth you mention is qualified in this respect, you are the best judge, as knowing his powers in drawing. If he should be sent to reside in London, he should be placed with some family that are regular, and be obliged to conform to their rules and hours. And if he is to make a profession of painting, he should be in this city to acquire that knowledge in painting to give him powers in his profession, for without great excellence he had better be a cobbler.

I wish there was a place within my knowledge where the lad could be placed, I would recommend him to it; but I do not know of one. Any aid I can be of in his being admitted a Student in the Academy, I shall give with pleasure: if he should come to town to see the approaching Exhibition, and will bring some of his drawings, I shall be glad to see them, and give him my advice.

I regret your not having finished your drawings



for Exhibition; it is now many years past that place has not been favoured with any of your productions, which we have much regretted; but I hope another year you will gratify the Academy by sending some of them.

With friendship and great respect,

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>,

BENJ<sup>N</sup> WEST.

Henry W<sup>m</sup> Bunbury, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

FROM GENERAL THE MARQUESS CORNWALLIS,  
K.G., TO GENERAL THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> HENRY FOX.

*Culford, Dec<sup>r</sup> 4, 1803.*

DEAR FOX,

I was only in Town for four days, and besides the hurry that always attends such a visit to London, I was under the necessity of going to Court on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, which put it out of my power to call on you.

From the contemptible effect of the insurrection itself, in point of numbers or characters of persons concerned, to the event of which no importance could have been attached in the minds of the public but for the unfortunate murder of the worthy and truly respectable Lord Kilwarden, and from the still more contemptible preparation of arms, or plan

of operations on the part of the Rebels, it did not appear to me that any blame could be attached either to the civil or military departments of the Irish Government for not having taken more efficient precautionary measures.

From the documents which you transmitted to me, it is clear that no blame could be imputed to you : and from my intimate knowledge of some of the persons confidentially employed in the civil line, I should with difficulty believe any charge of want of activity or capacity in that quarter.

It is certainly a mark of weakness in a Government to create unnecessary alarms, and it has the ill effect of shaking the public confidence ; in this business, however, the Irish Administration appears rather to have erred on the other side ; but I am persuaded that this error proceeded from a recollection of the mischief which a very contrary line of conduct had produced a few years ago in that unfortunate country.

I shall send your papers by the coach to my porter in town, and direct him to forward them to you.

Believe me to be, with great regard,

Dear Fox,

Most Faithfully your's,

CORNWALLIS.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Fox.

## LORD NELSON TO SIR CHARLES BUNBURY.

*Victory, off Cape S<sup>t</sup> Vincent, Sep<sup>r</sup> 26, 1805.*

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES.

Only this moment have I been favor'd with your letter of Feb<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>, 1804. Where is this Mr. Stewart? let him come forth! and if I can take the enemy's fleet he shall be made a lieu<sup>t</sup>; if not he must get an adm<sup>r</sup> recommendation, for all except death vacancys are considered as belonging to them; but be assured I am ever happy to meet your wishes, and believe me, my dear Sir Charles, your most obliged

Humble Servant,

NELSON.

Sir Charles Bunbury, Bart.

ROBERT BLOOMFIELD\* TO SIR CHARLES  
BUNBURY,*City Road, March 25, 1806.*

SIR,

I think you will pardon my thus writing to you instead of calling, when I inform you that a violent cold has caused me several fits of the headache, and I cannot this wet day persuade myself to venture out.

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\* Author of the Farmer's Boy, and other poems.

Your zeal in my service entitled you to an earlier intimation of its success; but convinced as I am, that you, sir, know well that the great and fashionable part of the world are not so easy of access as yourself, I anticipate rather a smile at my adventures than that you will feel any thing like disappointment.

Mr. Windham was too much engaged to see me. The Earl of Carlisle sent a message to the same effect, but added, that if I would call any morning in the following week he would be glad to speak with me. Accordingly I took a charming walk in Hyde Park, and call'd a second time, when his lordship sent down for my address, and said he should see Sir Charles Bunbury.

On the same day, at half-past one, I met with a civil reception from the servants at Devonshire House. But the duchess was not up. I therefore left your letter and the book; perhaps I herein acted wrong—but I felt at that instant as if I should be much happier out of the house than in.

I had all along a great desire to see Mr. Fox, and therefore twice declined calling, because there appear'd several carriages at the door, and because I conceived that, as I have as little as possible the appearance of a minister of state, the porter would not think me of

importance enough to attend to. But finding that my first objection was of a kind not likely to be avoided by waiting, I at last called when some gentleman, whose carriage stood at the door, was probably engaged with Mr. Fox, and I had an intimation to that purpose; I had however so far anticipated my fortune, and so far disclosed my mind in a note enclosed, as to say that "I ought for my country's sake to wish that he might not find time to read the poems."

Thus, Sir, I have told you my adventures with a bluntness of expression which I hope will bear with it its own apology. And with admiration of your frankness, and all the esteem that condescension is capable of inspiring,

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

ROB<sup>t</sup> BLOOMFIELD.

To Sir Charles Bunbury.

THE REV. GEORGE CRABBE TO SIR CHARLES  
BUNBURY.

SIR,

It is very long since I had the honour of addressing you; but no time has diminished, nor, I may add can diminish, till it deprives me of feeling,

a due sense of your kindness to me : I ought to have acknowledged your obliging attention to me, at an earlier period, and I ever thought of doing so ; having purposed, many years since, a republication of my poems, with the addition of more recent compositions, but the loss of my former society, the death of the late Duke of Rutland, the small cares of a clergyman and his family, not wholly unmixed with greater cares, all tended to procrastinate my purposes. At length the obliging attention of Mr. Dudley North, the kindness of Mr. Fox, and the unexpected favour of Lord Holland, have excited me to exertion and occasioned the appearance of the volume before you. Accept it, Sir, as the offering of one who cannot cease to remember the respect and gratitude due from him, who has seen you with joy returned so repeatedly for his native county, and who is with every good wish, hon<sup>d</sup> Sir,

Your very obliged and  
most obedient

GEORGE CRABBE.

*Muston, Grantham, Oct. 8, 1807.*

LORD ERSKINE TO SIR CHARLES BUNBURY.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,

So many accidents have happened to poor animals in the House of Commons, that I mean to give notice, that immediately after the judges return from their circuit I shall bring in a bill into the House of Lords to prevent cruelty to certain reclaimed animals. Of course that bill can only be to declare it a misdemeanour, and then, as in the case of the slave trade, I shall trust to Wilberforce and yourself, both of whom I consider to be pledged to the business, to add the various penal clauses, which are *in fact* the most material part, and send it back to us. I shall get the judges pledged to the principle in the first instance.

Yours most faithfully,

ERSKINE.

March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1808.

MEMOIR OF CHARLES LEE,  
MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE U. S.  
OF AMERICA.

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CHARLES LEE was the youngest son of General John Lee, of Dernhall, in Cheshire; his mother was Isabella, the second daughter of Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart., of Stanney, in the same county.

The subject of this memoir was born in 1731, and he is said to have received a commission in the army at eleven years of age. However, whether it was through the management of his parents, or his own disposition, Lee's education did not suffer from this premature entrance into the business of manhood; he was a fair classical scholar, and he acquired, early in life, a knowledge of the Italian, Spanish, French, and German languages. Nature had made him an enthusiast, and whatever was the object of his pursuit, he followed it with an extreme ardour. But nature seems likewise to have given him a restless mind, and a hot and imperious temper. Eager, disputatious, acute, jealous of honour, brave to an excess, and possessing talents far above the common order, he appeared a man



likely to hew out for himself a path of glory, or to perish prematurely in a duel. In person he was tall and extremely thin; his face ugly, with an aquiline nose of enormous proportion; his manners were high-bred and impressive, though he was singular, and in his latter days slovenly, in his habits. He was a fast friend, but a bitter enemy.

When he joined his regiment, he applied himself with all the energy of his character to the study of his profession; and he seems (poor as he then was) to have pushed his way well in the service, for we find him, at the age of twenty-six, a Captain of Grenadiers in the unfortunate action at Ticonderoga, where he was shot through the body. Promotion followed rapidly; and having returned to England, he published a pamphlet on the importance of our retaining Canada, which drew forth the commendations of Franklin.

When General Burgoyne was sent to Portugal in 1762, Lee accompanied him with the rank of Colonel. The General had a just estimation of his friend's military talents, and in the October of that year he confided to him the command of a corps destined to surprise the Spanish camp near Villa Velha. This service was performed in the most brilliant manner; the enemy's troops were dispersed with a heavy loss, and their artillery and a great number of prisoners taken. At the termination of the war, Lee returned again to England, high in professional reputation, and strongly recommended to the special favour of Government by the Court of Lisbon and by Count La Lippe.

His prospects were now brilliant, particularly as he was intimate with men of high rank and influence in London, and appeared to enjoy the friendship of one of the cabinet ministers. But Lee was a man not to be turned from his opinions by any considerations of his personal interest; he

would not even keep silence on matters in which his feelings were interested, though the subject was no concern of his own. A war broke out between the confederated tribes of Indians and our American colonists; the ministers of the day did not coincide with the views which the latter party took of the contest; Charles Lee wrote and published again on behalf of his friends in America, and he lost for ever the favour of the British Government.

It was about this time that the dissensions in Poland had arisen to such a height as to make it probable that a struggle for its ancient independence must be undertaken by that unhappy nation. To that field, as one in which he could draw his sword in the cause of liberty, Lee turned his eyes. His own position in England is best explained by the following extract from a letter addressed to his cousin, Sir Charles Bunbury, dated Dec. 7, 1764. "Some business has unfortunately fallen out which prevents my having the happiness of visiting you as I purposed before I left England. I intended to have been down with you to-morrow, but my business cannot be finished before Monday, and it is absolutely necessary that I should be ready for the packet at Harwich on Wednesday morning. You must therefore, in the vulgar language, take the will for the deed. My present scheme is this, to go into the Polish service, to which I am so strongly recommended that I can scarcely fail. What can I do better? I see no chance of being provided for at home; my income is miserably scanty; my inclinations greater than those who are ignorant of my circumstances suppose. It is wretchedness itself not to be able to herd with the class of men we have been accustomed to from our infancy; it is dishonest to strain above our faculties, and it is mortifying to avail ourselves of shifts which I have found necessary. My resolu-

tions are therefore to live in any part of the world where I can find respectable employment, at least till my mother's death\*."

On his arrival in Poland he obtained the rank of Major-General, and was attached to the person of the King as one of his aides-de-camp. It is evident that Lee conceived a strong affection to the unfortunate Poniatowski, though he bore the title of King. In a letter to his friend, the elder Colman, dated Warsaw, May 1st, 1767, he says, "The situation of the King is really to be lamented; notwithstanding he wears a crown he is an honest, virtuous man, and a friend to the rights of mankind. I wish we could persuade a prince of my acquaintance, who is taught (as far as he can be taught anything) to hate them, to exchange with him. I know a nation that would spare a whole family, mother and all, to the Poles, and only take in exchange this one man." In the same letter Lee gives a frightful account of the state of the Polish provinces; and, in spite of his republican principles, he seems to have considered the confederates at that period to have been as detestable as the Russians themselves. He had been anxious to witness the campaign between the Turks and the Russians, "though," says he, "I believe it will be a ridiculous one; if not like that of Harlequin and Scapin, it will resemble the battle of Wilkes and Talbot. The Russians can gain nothing by beating their enemies, and the Turks

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\* It must be observed, that when Lee speaks here of his means as being miserably scanty, both his elder brothers were dead without leaving children, and it appears that when he engaged himself and his fortunes in the cause of America, ten years afterwards, he enjoyed an income of nearly 1000*l.* a year, besides having large grants of lands in the colonies.

are confoundedly afraid." \* \* \* "I have been in this place two months, waiting to join the Russian army, and I am afraid I shall be obliged to wait a month longer. The communications are so filled with the offals of the confederates, who are themselves a banditti, that it is impossible to stir ten yards without an escort of Russians. The English are less secure than others, as they are esteemed the arch-enemies of the holy faith. A French comedian was the other day near being hanged from the circumstance of his wearing a *bob-wig*, which by the confederates is supposed to be the uniform of the English nation. I wish to God the three branches of our legislature would take it into their heads to travel through the woods of Poland in bob-wigs." Again, "I see that the country is in one state of confusion, filled with devastation and murder. I hear every day of the Russians beating the confederates, but as to what the Russians, what the confederates, what the body of the nation propose, I am utterly ignorant, though no more, I believe, than they are themselves. Their method of carrying on the war is equally gentle with what ours was in North America: the confederates hang up all the Russians who fall into their hands, and the Russians put to the sword the confederates." General Lee succeeded at length in his desire to join the Russian camp on the frontiers of Turkey; and he was present when the Czarina's army was forced to raise the siege of Chotzim.

But in the preceding winter Lee had visited England, carrying with him the strongest recommendations to Government from the King of Poland, to whom he addressed a long letter on the 1st of December, 1766, conveying his views of the state of parties in London, and the characters of the leaders, and dwelling particularly on the condition of Lord Chatham, whom he describes as quite

broken in mind, and childishly fond of his recent earldom.\*

The friendship and solicitations of Poniatowsky failed to obtain from the English minister any favour towards Lee : and he soon returned to the Continent. About this time a letter was addressed to him by his friend Mr. Wroughton, (who was, I believe, acting as the *Chargé-d’Affaires* of the British Government at Warsaw), from which I give the following extract, as it serves to mark the conduct of the man whose character I am endeavouring to trace.

“ I should have been heartily glad to have heard, my dear Colonel, that His Majesty’s recommendation had been more successful in procuring you an establishment equal to your merit and wishes ; but am not at all surprised that you find the door shut against you by the person who has such unbounded credit, as you have ever too freely indulged a liberty of declaiming, which many infamous and invidious people have not failed to inform him of. The principle on which you openly speak your mind, is honest and patriotick, but not politick ; and as it will not succeed in changing men or times, † common prudence should

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\* There is another letter from Lee dated on the 25th Dec., to Prince \*\*\*, treating further and more particularly of English politicks. Amongst other things, he says, “ An Irishman, one Mr. Burke, is sprung up in the House of Commons, who has astonished everybody with the power of his eloquence, his comprehensive knowledge in all our exterior and internal politicks and commercial interests. He wants nothing but that sort of dignity annexed to rank and property in England, to make him the most considerable man in the Lower House.”

† If Lee was, as Dr. Girdleston has written to prove, and other people have believed, the author of Junius’s Letters, the effects of his declamations were greater than Mr. Wroughton’s philosophy dreamt of.

teach us to hold our tongues, rather than to risque our own fortunes without any prospect of advantage to ourselves or neighbours. Excuse this scrap of advice, my dear Colonel, and place it to the vent of a heart entirely devoted to your interest."

It is difficult to name the country, or hit upon the spot, where Lee was to be found at any given time between his quitting the Polish service and his engaging himself in the cause of American independence. The letters of his acquaintance in England were hunting after him on the Continent, while those of his foreign friends were taking the chance of finding him in London. He roved over Europe with the speed and irregularity of a meteor\*: he was a second edition of Lord Peterborough—

"In journeys he outrides the post,  
Sits up 'till midnight with his host,  
Talks politicks and gives the toast.

"Knows every prince in Europe's face,  
Flies like a squib from place to place,  
And travels not, but runs a race.

\* \* \* \* \*

"A skeleton in outward figure,  
His meagre corpse, though full of vigour,  
Would halt behind him were it bigger.

"So wonderful his expedition,  
When you have not the least suspicion,  
He's with you like an apparition."

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\* In one of these courses through Italy, Lee was involved in a duel with a foreign officer, whom he slew, but he was himself wounded, and lost the use of two of his fingers.

However it seems pretty clear that Lee's head-quarters were generally in London during the ferment promoted by the writings of Junius; but as the symptoms of open warfare between England and her American colonies grew more decided, he took his final resolution, and he quitted England for ever in the summer of 1773. Having formerly served a long time with the provincial troops, and having kept up an intimate correspondence with many friends who were now taking a forward part in the struggle for American liberty, Lee found himself at once at home, and he devoted all the energies of his mind and body to their cause. For two years he was hurrying indefatigably from the north to the south and from the south to the north, visiting the towns and the back settlements, exhorting, encouraging, and spreading the fire which burnt so fiercely in his meagre frame. At length came the fatal moment of actual hostilities; and Colonel Lee (though he had been distant from the scene, nor was at all implicated in the fight with the King's Troops at Lexington) wrote immediately to the Secretary at War, resigning his half-pay in the British service, assuring him at the same time "that whenever it should please his Majesty to call him forth to any honourable service against the natural enemies of his country, or in defence of his just rights and dignity, no man would obey the righteous summons with more zeal and alacrity than himself."

The sword was now drawn, though the Americans in general were not yet inclined to throw away the scabbard. However, they resolved to oppose force by force, and they took measures immediately to form an army. They chose Washington to be their Commander-in-Chief, and elected four Major-Generals, Ward, Lee, Schuyler, and Putnam, to serve under him. This order of appointment gave some

umbrage to the fiery Englishman, who piqued himself on his military talents : he was placed below Mr. Ward ; and he describes this second in command of the New England forces, as being "a fat old gentleman, who had been a popular *churchwarden*, but had no acquaintance whatever with military affairs\*." During the long and arduous blockade of the English army in Boston, Lee commanded one of the divisions of the revolutionary army, and he confirmed, by his zeal and energy, the confidence which the Americans had been inclined to repose in him. There is no period of that unhappy war to which an English officer, who feels (abstractedly from the political questions) for the honour of his country and the credit of his profession, can look back with less of satisfaction, than to this disgraceful blockade of General Howe's corps, by the unorganized and half-armed levies of the New England insurgents. This, however, is not a proper occasion for entering into details, and exposing the wretched imbecility of our chief commanders, from the Battle of Bunker's-hill to the evacuation of Boston.

Before General Howe embarked his troops and quitted this first scene of his disgrace, Lee was despatched to levy men in Connecticut, and secure New York, where the friends of Great Britain were very strong, and where the arrival of English troops was eagerly desired. He collected about twelve hundred volunteers and militia-men with great celerity, and marched rapidly to his destination. The Council of New York took alarm, fearing that the effect of his arrival would be to make their dis-

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\* This poor man was not long in discovering his own incapacity, and he resigned his commission as soon as the British troops evacuated Boston, thus leaving Lee second in command of the American army.



trict the seat of war. They wrote to Lée, urging him to halt ; but he hesitated not one instant : he pressed forward, entered the town, roused the revolutionary party to exertion, disarmed their opponents, collected ammunition, threw up batteries, and brought New York into such a state, that the hopes of its being seized by Sir Henry Clinton's corps were completely defeated.

At this time the failure of Montgomery's expedition against Quebec, and the death of that Commander, created a great alarm in the New England states, and while they proposed to increase very largely the force of their army in Canada, they desired that General Lee should be appointed to this important command. He was on the eve of setting out for Lake Champlain, when intelligence was received of Sir H. Clinton's expedition against the southern coasts. This danger appeared to be more imminent than the former ; and Lee was hurried off to rouse the volunteers and assemble the militias of Virginia and the Carolinas. Such was his expedition, that when the British fleet and army came into Hampton Roads, they found General Lee already there, assembling forces from every side and preparing to oppose their landing : they drew off and proceeded farther to the south ; but on the shores of North Carolina they were again faced by this indefatigable commander : and when Sir Henry Clinton determined finally on attacking Charleston, and landed his troops in the beginning of June 1776 on the neighbouring islands, he found his eternal adversary intrenched in a strong position on the main-land, with an advanced corps in a fort on Sullivan's Island, armed with a great number of heavy cannon. The English squadron endeavoured to reduce this fort, but their fire was overpowered by that of the Americans ; one of our ships was sunk, and the rest were forced to retire with

a heavy loss of men. Lee maintained his communication with the fort ; and Clinton, feeling that his hopes of success were baffled, re-embarked his troops, and returned to join the main army under General Howe, which was preparing to attack the American forces on Long Island. On the other hand Lee posted into Georgia, called forth and organized the military means of that Province, and then flew back to resume his station under Washington.

He found the American commander and his army in a situation of extreme difficulty. They had been driven out of their positions on Long Island with heavy loss ; and though the inertness of the British commanders had allowed Washington to escape with the bulk of his troops to the main-land, the Americans were so disheartened and disorganized that they dared not for the moment face the British in the field. General Howe crossed the Channel, and obtained possession of New York, while Washington collected all that remained of his army in a strong position on a peninsula near Kingsbridge. The great man who commanded the American forces seems to have been at this time in an almost desperate state of mind : his army had been defeated and almost routed ; besides his great losses in the field, he had seen a large proportion of the militia disperse and return to their homes ; the first ardor of the provinces had cooled down under protracted and unsuccessful warfare, and the measures of Congress were slow and feeble. What remained of his troops were miserably deficient as to their equipment and supplies, broken in spirit, and beginning to cabal. Near at hand were the British forces, vastly superior in numbers as well as in discipline, flushed with recent victory, masters of the sea, and abundantly provided with artillery and stores.

It was in this critical situation that Lee, returning without troops from the southward, found the American

army. He took a rapid view of the position, and his falcon eye at once detected the great danger to which they were exposed. The ground, indeed, was extremely strong in itself, and Washington was anxious to fight his battle there, to re-establish the affairs of the young republick by victory, or to die on that field in a glorious struggle for the independence of his country. On the very day after Lee's arrival, the British army commenced its movements toward the American camp, and Washington, assembling a council of war, disclosed his plans, and invited the concurrence of his general officers. But to these proposals Lee offered an anxious opposition : he urged that there was no ground to hope that General Howe would come to assail them in their entrenchments on the peninsula ; that the game for the British army was to move higher up, and seize and fortify the isthmus by which alone the American camp held communication with the continent ; and thus while their ships were completely masters of the sea on either hand, they would compel the troops of the United States to lay down their arms without striking a blow, as soon as their scanty stock of provisions should be consumed. These arguments carried conviction ; a large majority of the council voted against General Washington, and he was forced to concede.

The resolution to retreat being taken, there was no time to be lost ; the camp broke up immediately, and the commander-in-chief crossed the isthmus, and marched towards White Plains, leaving General Lee with the rear division, to collect the means of saving as much of the baggage and artillery as might be practicable. The English army, having moved too slowly to prevent the escape of Washington, followed his march towards White Plains. They were greatly superior in numbers as well as in composition, yet there ensued

nothing more than manœuvres and skirmishes, attended only by the effect of restoring, in some degree, the courage and confidence of the Americans. General Howe seems to have taken no measures whatever to intercept Lee, who was detained some days, in spite of all his activity, by the difficulty of drawing together the animals and carriages necessary for the removal of the cannon and heavy baggage. Having at last collected these means, he set forward with his convoy, contriving to conceal his movements, and avoiding the positions of the British army. Lee accomplished the arduous task which had been allotted to him with extraordinary skill and celerity; he rejoined the divisions under Washington, bringing up the artillery and baggage without loss, and he enjoyed the satisfaction of knowing that his march was reputed, by both friends and foes, as one of the ablest performances of the war.

General Howe made a faint attempt to bring the re-united army of his antagonists to battle in their new position at White Plains, but they withdrew without difficulty; and the British commander, feeling conscious that the Americans had now escaped from his grasp, found it expedient to give a new direction to his operations. Returning towards New York, he attacked and carried, with a vigour which was far from usual in him, the important forts by which the enemy commanded the lower passages of the Hudson, and he invaded the Jerseys with the principal part of his army. This movement induced Washington to march with the main body of his forces to the Delaware, leaving Lee with three or four thousand men to watch the neighbourhood of New York.

As the British advanced into Jersey, they found few of the enemy's troops to attempt resistance: the people of the province were disgusted with the war, nor could they

be induced to turn out as militia, till the misconduct and licentiousness of the royal soldiers roused them some time after to take up arms. The English squadrons rode undisputed masters of the estuaries as well as of the open sea, and Washington arrived on the Delaware only to feel that his means were utterly incapable of arresting the onward course of the British. He despatched instructions to Lee to join the main army with the troops under his command, hoping to defend the passage of the river, at least until it should be completely frozen, and thus gain time for reviving the spirit of resistance, and gathering the provincial forces for the protection of Philadelphia.

The partisans of General Washington have accused Lee of exhibiting on this occasion a tardiness and reluctance to obey the orders of the commander-in-chief: they have charged him with entertaining projects of his own, tending to prolong his separate command, and to thwart the plans of his superior officer. However this may have been, the orders to form a junction were repeated with a pressing haste, and Lee set forward on his march to the southward. On the 6th of December, 1776, he crossed the North River with about 3,000 men and some pieces of cannon. He took his route through Morris county; but, possessing very imperfect information as to the positions and circumstances of his foes, as well as of his friends, Lee felt that great vigilance was necessary; and in his anxiety to procure intelligence, he went out in person with a small reconnoitering party. On his return towards his camp, he halted for refreshment at a farm-house, and he was there surprised by Colonel Harcourt \*, who had penetrated through the country, with a part of the 16th light dragoons, for the purpose of watching the march of the American division.

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\* The late Earl Harcourt.

So dexterously did Harcourt avail himself of information, which he obtained on his route, that he pounced on General Lee and his men, unprepared and unsuspecting, and bore them away to the British quarters.

There appeared at first a disposition to consider the republican commander as a deserter from the royal service. Lee was placed in close confinement, and treated with much severity. This led to retaliation on the part of the Americans, who threw Colonel Campbell and other British officers into prison, and held them as hostages for the safety of their general. But it was not till after the surrender of Burgoyne's army in October, 1777, that Lee was admitted to his parole as a prisoner of war; a few months afterwards he was exchanged, and he returned to his former post as second in command of the American army.

During Lee's captivity the face of the war had been completely changed, and events of the greatest importance had occurred. On the one hand, the British army, under Sir William Howe, had defeated that of Washington, and taken possession of Philadelphia, a city regarded as the capital of the United States, and, until its capture, the seat of congress. The people of the country, suffering from a protracted warfare, had become, in many districts, disaffected to the republican cause; and even in the army there had appeared a dangerous spirit of dissension. Worn out by privations of every kind, the sickly soldiers could hardly be kept together, while many of the officers of rank entered into cabals, directed particularly against the authority of Washington as commander-in-chief. On the other hand, the royal army in the north, under the command of General Burgoyne, had been compelled to lay down its arms. The Americans were relieved

from every serious apprehension of danger on the side of Canada; and the most important of all objects for the insurgent colonies had been attained by the ratification of a treaty of alliance between their republic and the court of France.

When Lee rejoined the American army in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, the British commander was preparing for the evacuation of that city. It was known that a strong French fleet, with some thousands of troops, might be expected to arrive very soon upon the coast; and that the English squadron, under Lord Howe, was too weak to oppose them with any chance of success. There appeared therefore an imminent risk, that if the British lingered at Philadelphia, they would be hemmed in by superior forces, both by sea and land, and their retreat upon New York would be rendered impracticable.

Just before this time the command of the royal army had devolved on Sir Henry Clinton, in consequence of Sir William Howe's having resigned the station which he had filled during two years, to the prejudice of the royal cause and of the service in which he held so high a rank. Yet Howe was popular with his army; his manners were prepossessing, and his personal courage was conspicuous in the field: but his views were narrow—his nature indolent and careless—and he seemed never to feel the extent and importance of his duties, as the person to whom the mighty interests of his king and country were entrusted in the conduct of the war.

Sir Henry Clinton was an officer of ability and energy, but he succeeded to the command when it was too late to repair the evils resulting from the negligence of his predecessor. A new and formidable enemy was entering the

field ; the spirit and confidence of the Americans were revived ; and a large proportion of their northern troops, who had learned to fight hard and to conquer in the campaign against Burgoyne, were now joining the army under Washington. The American commander himself was so much elated by this sudden change of circumstances, that he seems to have indulged a sanguine hope of preventing the British from retiring across the Delaware, and of reducing them to the necessity of laying down their arms. But Clinton took his measures with sagacity and promptitude. On the 18th of June, 1778, he evacuated Philadelphia, and crossed the river with all his baggage and stores, without confusion or loss, though the American troops were close to him on every side.

The line of country through which the British had to pass, in retreating towards New York, was strong and intricate ; and it was necessary to wind in some places through narrow defiles, which must retard the march of troops encumbered with an enormous quantity of baggage, and expose them to be attacked at disadvantage. Washington pressed on their flank and rear, and he was eager to force the English to a general action. In this desire, however, he was not supported by the opinion of his principal officers. A majority of his council of war concurred with Lee in judging it imprudent and perilous to venture, with nearly equal numbers, to encounter the flower of the British army in a pitched battle ; and they advised that their operations should be confined to the hanging closely on the retreating foe, and the seizing every partial advantage which might present itself. Thus thwarted in his opinions and wishes, the American commander reluctantly and angrily submitted : but still, adhering to his own views, he determined to make his advanced detachments so large,



and to keep his main body so near at hand, that what might begin as partial actions with the enemy's rear, might gradually become more serious, and bring on the general engagement which he desired. In pursuance of this object, as the British retired slowly through the Jerseys, Washington reinforced the corps which dogged their march to such an extent, that nearly one-half of his army was in advance, and liable to be engaged with the enemy. Under these circumstances, Lee felt it due to his rank and character to claim the command of this large portion of the troops ; and his claim was allowed, though it is clear that he and his superior were already on very bad terms. The English republican had always been jealous of the dangerous extent and continuance of the power entrusted to Washington, nor does he seem to have entertained any high respect for his military talents. On the other hand, the American commander probably regarded Lee as a *frondeur*, and was galled by his successful opposition on two important occasions. His rank, however, and his acknowledged abilities, rendered it unadvisable to refuse to Lee the post which he now demanded ; and he immediately assumed the command of four or five thousand men, who were at this time close around the rear of the British columns.

It is not compatible with the limits of this memoir to enter into the detail of the battle of Monmouth. In withdrawing promptly across the passes in his rear, when attacked by the main strength of the English army, Lee followed out the principle which he had maintained in council. His conduct was highly applauded by the British officers ; and even those Americans who were the most zealous for the reputation of Washington, hesitated to censure the judgment of Lee in retiring on the main body.

while they admitted that he displayed much skill in a nice and difficult operation. But he had once more thwarted the designs, though he does not seem to have disobeyed any explicit orders, of his superior officer. The two generals met on the field, and the long-suppressed anger of Washington burst forth in language so violent as to induce General Lee, as soon as the action was over, to address a letter to his commander, in consequence of which he was placed under arrest, and arraigned before a court-martial on three charges :—1<sup>st</sup>, for disobedience of orders ; 2<sup>d</sup>, for misbehaviour before the enemy ; and, 3<sup>d</sup>, for disrespect to the commander-in-chief. On these charges Lee was pronounced guilty by the court, and was sentenced to be suspended from holding any commission in the armies of the United States for the term of twelve months. In his defence the general displayed great eloquence and ability ; and after his sentence had been confirmed by Congress, he published a vindication of his conduct, to which he annexed so severe a review of Washington's military proceedings through the war, as to produce a challenge from Colonel Laurens, one of the commander-in-chief's aides-de-camp, who wounded Lee in the side.

But before a confirmation of the sentence pronounced by the court-martial could be obtained from Congress, this assembly had discussed and disputed over the question during several evenings. There were strong and angry differences of opinion ; and great heats arose in society, in the midst of which Lee remained several months in Philadelphia, battling out his cause with the wonted fire and tenacity of his character. But, in the summer of 1779, he retired to his estate in Berkeley county in Virginia, where he lived about three years, “ in a style (says the American gentleman who published his papers,) peculiar to himself,

in a house more like a barn than a palace. Glass windows and plastering would have been luxurious extravagance ; and his furniture consisted of a very few necessary articles : indeed he was now so rusticated, that he could have lived in a tub with Diogenes. However, he had got a few select valuable authors, and these enabled him to pass away his time in this obscurity."

The ex-general bred horses and dogs, of which animals he was extravagantly fond ; but he had no turn for farming ; at the end of three years Lee grew sick of utter solitude, and he moved back to the coast with the intention of settling, for the rest of his days, within reach of society and information. Death, however, surprised him a few days after his arrival at Philadelphia ; and the last words he was heard to utter, in the delirium of fever, were, " Stand by me, my brave grenadiers !"

Charles Lee died on the 2<sup>d</sup> of October, 1782, in the 52<sup>d</sup> year of his age. The distinguished honours which were rendered to his funeral, not only by the attendance of great bodies of the people, but by the presidents and members both of Congress and of the provincial assembly—by the foreign ministers, and the civil and military officers—are the more remarkable, when we remember, that he had been regarded latterly as the personal enemy of George Washington, who now enjoyed the highest place in reputation and authority ; and that Lee had been driven from his station, and blighted in his prospects, by what many people considered as the jealousy and injustice of that distinguished patriot.

I do not propose to try the patience of my readers by making long extracts from what remained of Lee's acknowledged writings ; but a few characteristic passages may be allowed : and the following letter, which he wrote

to his sister in England after his trial, will serve to shew what his feelings were, both with regard to his own case, and to the unhappy war between the American states and the mother country.

*Prato Rio in Virginia, Dec<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup>, 1779.*

MY D<sup>r</sup> SISTER,

I wrote to you a letter two months ago, but as in the present circumstances of affairs there are a thousand risks that a letter will not arrive, I think proper to send you a duplicate. Your letter from Chester, dated Jan<sup>r</sup> the 23<sup>d</sup>, came safely to my hands: in the course of this and the last year, I wrote to you two letters informing you of the state of my health and spirits, the two points which I know from your natural affection and tenderness you must be most solicitous about. They have both, thank Heaven, never failed me a single day, and until I am conscious of having committed some unworthy action, (which I can assure you is not at present the case) the iniquity of men shall never bear me down. I have, it is true, uneasy feelings, but not on my own personal account; I feel for the ravages and devastations of this continent, and the ruin of thousands of worthy individuals; I feel for the empire of Great Britain, for its glory, welfare, and existence. I feel for the fortunes of my relations and friends, which may receive a dreadful shock in this convulsion. I have been accused of making it my study, and perverting all the talents I am master of, to involve my country in the ruinous situation she now is in: you know, all my correspondents and acquaintance know, how false this imputation is. I will not enter into political retrospections, as it is probable my letter will be opened before it reaches you, but I hope I may safely appeal to the substance and spirit of the

letters which the public have already seen, for the integrity of my intentions. I mean the letters addressed to Lord Piercy and General Burgoyne, wherein I prophesied the fatal events that have followed. I cannot help lamenting that another which I wrote to General Gage (wherein I labour'd to open his eyes) was not published. I personally lov'd the man, but he has much to answer for, not less I will venture to say, than the blood of one hundred thousand Englishmen, or the immediate descendants of Englishmen; but he has to answer also for the subversion of the mighty fabrick of the British Empire; but I am running unawares into politics, the subject it is my busyness to keep clear of. You express a concern for my personal honour: as I suppose you allude to the affair of Monmouth, all I shall say is that, as I believe the proceedings of the Court have been sent to England, and as you have eyes to read, and judgement to make comments, I may be intirely easy on that subject; but as it possibly may happen that these curious records may never fall into your hands, be assured of this, my D<sup>r</sup> Sister, that if the transactions of that day were to pass over again, there is no one step I took which I would not again take, and that there is no one measure I adopted which will not stand the test of the severest military eriticks, and in point of spirit, of the most enthusiastick grenadier; so once more, I conjure you to be at ease on this subject, as I have from the beginning. I have now only to beg my love to all my relations and particular friends, to the \* \* \* &c. &c.

God bless you, my D<sup>r</sup> Sydney, send you long life and uninterrupted spirits; this is most devoutly the prayer of your most affectionate Brother,

(Signed)

CHARLES LEE.

The latitude which Charles Lee allowed himself in conversation, exposed his character to unjust aspersions\*. By many, and particularly by his enemies in America, he was denounced as an Atheist; but we have satisfactory proofs in some of his writings which probably were not designed for the press, and in the testimonies of men who knew him well, that such an imputation was calumnious. Lee's American biographer speaks thus: "He has often asserted that he thought the Christian religion, unincumbered of its sophistications, the most excellent, as comprehending the most divine system of ethics, consequently of a divine nature; but at the same time he disapproved of the length and tediousness of the liturgies of the various sects. As to the dogmas, he considered many of them absurd, if not impious, and derogatory to the honour, dignity, and wisdom of the Godhead, or Omniscient Ruler and Moderator of the infinity of worlds that surround us."

In an Utopian scheme which Lee sketched out as "a plan for the formation of a military colony," there occurs a passage which develops more fully his peculiar opinions on the subject of religion, and marks his serious sense of its paramount importance. After tracing an outline of his martial colony, he says, "But as there is reason to apprehend that a nation, merely of warriors, hunters, and agriculturers, may become extremely ferocious in their manners, some method should be devised of softening, or

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\* "A talent for repartee, united with a quickness of penetration, created him many enemies. A character so eccentric and singular as his, could not fail of attracting the publick attention. His *small friends* frequently passed severe criticisms on his words and actions. Narrowly watched, every little slip or failure was noticed and represented to his disadvantage."—*Mr. Langworthy's Memoir of Gen. Lee.*

counteracting, this consequential ferocity : I know of none equally efficacious with a general cultivation and study of music and poetry ; on which principle I would propose, that music and poetry should be the great regimen of the two most important articles of government, religion, and war ; all other good qualities might follow of course ; for without religion, no warlike community can exist ; and with religion, if it is pure and unsophisticated, all immoralities are incompatible. Music and poetry therefore, which ought to be inseparably blended, are the grand pivots of a really brave, active, warlike, and virtuous society. This doctrine, I am conscious, may shock quakers, puritans, and rigid sectarists of every kind ; but I do not speak to quakers, puritans, and rigid sectarists. At the first, and from the bottom of my heart, I detest and despise them. I speak to men and soldiers, who wish, and are able, to assert and defend the rights of humanity ; and, let me add, to vindicate the character of God Almighty, and real christianity, which have been so long dishonoured by sectarists of every kind and complexion, catholics, church of England men, presbyterians, and methodists. I could wish therefore, that the community of soldiers (who are to be all christians) should establish one common form of worship, with which every member must acquiesce, at least in attendance on divine worship and the observation of the prescribed ceremonies ; but these so contrived as not to shock any man who has been bred up in any of the different sects. For which reason, let all expositions of the scripture, and all dogmas, be for ever banished. Let it be sufficient that he acknowledges the existence, providence, and goodness of God Almighty ; that he reverences Jesus Christ, but let the question never be asked whether he considers Jesus Christ as only a divine person commissioned

by God for divine purposes, as the Son of God, or as God himself. These sophistical subtilties only lead to a doubt of the whole. Let it be sufficient therefore that he believes in God, in his providence, and in the mediation of Jesus Christ, whether a real God, or only a divinely inspired mortal: for which reason, to prevent the impertinence and ill consequences of dogmatising, no professional priest, of any sort whatever, shall be admitted in the community. But still I am of opinion that a sacred order, or hierarchy, should be established, and in the following manner. That this hierarchy are not to be expositors of the divine law, which ought to be understood by every member of common capacity, but as the servitors or administrators of the solemn ceremonies to be observed in the worship of the Supreme Being, of his Son, or missionary."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The ceremonies are to consist in poetical hymns of praise and thanksgiving, set to music; such, for instance, as Pope's Universal Prayer, parts of the Common Prayer, and many pieces selected from the Psalms of David: for those long prayers with which all the churches of the different sects are infested, entering into such minute details with God Almighty, as if he was your factor in a foreign country, have been justly deemed by many wise men not only tiresome, but impious impertinences.

"Ablutions, such as are practised in the religions of the East, seem to me to be really a divine institution. These Easterns wisely say, that a pure soul cannot inhabit a filthy body; that a purified body is the best symbol of a clean spirit; that it is indecent and wicked to present yourself before your Creator in a dirtier condition than you ought to appear in before an earthly superior. Admitting these figures to be hyperbolical, the institution



certainly is extremely wise, as it contributes so essentially to health and the agreements of society."

\* \* \* \* \*

"A grand religious concert of thanksgivings to be performed every Sunday; and two other days in the week, suppose Tuesdays and Fridays, but shorter, and with less pomp; for there is nothing so impolitick as to make pomp and ceremony too frequent; they entirely lose their effect. The thanksgivings or hymns, therefore, on these common days, to be extremely short, but sensible and energetic. Long prayers, such as the morning service of the Church of England, with the addition of a long unmeaning sermon, hummed through the nose, perhaps, of a crop-sick parson, who can scarcely read his own writing, or the still more insufferable cant of the puritan preachers, must be the bane of all religion. \* \* \* \*

In short, the ceremonies of divine worship must be made solemn, pompous, and elevating: but we will quit the subject of religion, and pass to the law.

"As an agrarian law is to be established and rigidly observed, and as the children of both sexes are to inherit an equal proportion (for this is to be a fundamental maxim), the most simple code may be extracted for civil cases, from the common laws of England, or from those of Denmark, which appear to be excellent. A *professional* lawyer, therefore, will be totally unnecessary; indeed I should as soon think of inoculating my community for the plague, as admitting one of these gentlemen to reside among us. All requisite knowledge of the law will be the common accomplishment of every gentleman. \* \* \*

With respect to criminal matters, I would adopt Beccaria's scheme: its excellencies have been demonstrated in the Tuscan dominions. When the present Grand Duke

ascended to the ducal throne, he found Tuscany the most abandoned nation of all Italy, filled with robbers and assassins. Everywhere, for a series of years previous to the government of this excellent prince, were seen gallows, wheels, and tortures of every kind; and the robberies and murders were not at all less frequent. He had read and admired the Marquis of Beccaria, and determined to try the effects of his plan. He put a stop to all capital punishments, even for the greatest crimes; and the consequences have convinced the world of its wholesomeness.

\* \* \* \* Tuscany, from being a theatre of the greatest crimes and villanies of every species, is become the safest and best ordered state of Europe. \* \* \* But if we had not this example, and that of the Empress Elizabeth (who adopted the same plan with the same good effect) before our eyes, the inculcating an idea in a military people that death is the most terrible of all punishments, is certainly the most absurd of solecisms. Nothing great can be expected from a community which is taught to consider it as such. On the contrary, death ought, as far as human nature will admit, to be made a matter of indifference." \* \* \* "I have often laughed at the glaring contradiction in the proceedings, in this article, in the British armies, and others in which I have served. I have seen two or three wretches, who had the misfortune to be detected in marauding, or attempting to desert, taken out with awful form, encircled by a multitude who had been guilty of, or had intended to have committed the same crimes, but happily had not been discovered; the chaplain, in his canonicals, telling them how dreadful a thing it was for their souls to be divorced from their bodies, and to be urged on to the tribunal of their Maker with these horrid sins on their heads. A few hours after-

wards, some desperate expedition is ordered to be executed by the very men who had been present at the execution, who had committed, or intended to commit, the very same horrid crimes ; and the officer appointed to command the expedition harangues the soldiers as usual ; assures them that death is not a serious affair ; that, as all men must sooner or later die, it is of little moment when it happens. Thus it may be said we blow hot and cold with the same breath. I am therefore absolutely and totally against capital punishments, at least in our military community. Let the loss of liberty and ignominy be inculcated as the extreme of all punishments," &c. &c.

But enough of Lee's military reveries. Of his pamphlets and letters the most striking are those written on occasions when his passions were strongly excited ; his style is often very nervous, and his sallies extremely poignant. His indignation seems to have been raised to fever heat by the publication of Hume's history of our first kings of the house of Stuart, a race whom my cousin held in particular abhorrence, though it must be owned that he came to regard the royal family of Brunswick with an almost equal antipathy. From two short essays which he left among his papers, it appears that he entertained intentions of writing an examen of the work of David Hume, " whose philosophical character and speciousness of style (says Lee) render him infinitely more dangerous than his fellow labourers in misleading our judgement and blinding our understandings."

# POETRY,

BY THE LATE

HENRY F. R. SOAME, Esq.\*

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ON

## THE DEATH OF DR. MEREDITH,

VICE-MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Sons of the World, who view with scornful eyes  
The grave in which sequestered science lies,  
Who mock the student's toils, or mark them not,  
Or deem he labours but to be forgot,  
Exists awhile within the cloister's gloom,  
Then sinks unheeded to an unknown tomb,—  
Come ye, who proudly scorn the pedant's boast,  
Here, weep the talents which ye honour most.  
Know that there sleeps on this lamented bier  
All that might well have graced your gayer sphere;  
Wit, that to Dulness only gave offence,  
And Learning's stores, subservient still to sense;

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\* Henry Francis Robert Soame, born on the 16th Oct. 1768, was the only child of the Rev. Henry Soame, of Thurlow Hall, in Suffolk, and Susan, the eldest daughter of Sir William Bunbury, Bart. He was educated at the school at Bury St. Edmunds, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and he died in India (being then a lieutenant in the 22d light dragoons), in the year 1803.

The sportive Fancy, and the humorous vein  
 Which numbers imitate, but few attain.  
 Quick to conceive, and ready to express  
 The clear conception in its happiest dress ;  
 Fire, that with seventy winters' snows could wage  
 Successful war, and melt the frosts of age :—  
 Mourn him, ye gay,—for ye had sure approved  
 Whom Yorick honoured and Eugenius loved !\*  
 Refuse the decent tribute, if ye can,  
 Due to the wit, the scholar, and the man.  
 Or, if ye own the luxury of woe,  
 Here let the graceful weakness freely flow.  
 To you, whose board his mirth was wont to cheer,  
 Who loved the raillery you could not fear,  
 To you, alas ! while memory holds her seat,  
 Shall the weak Muse superfluous praise repeat ?  
 Vain were appeal to every social breast,—  
 While they shall most regret who knew him best.

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### STANZAS,

ADDRESSED TO MRS. JORDAN, AFTER AN ABSENCE OF SOME MONTHS  
 FROM THE STAGE, 1790.

NYMPH of the sportive smile and changeful mien,  
 Welcome, thrice welcome to th' accustom'd scene !  
 Again, by tender strokes of art,  
 Or polish'd Nature's graceful skill,  
 To charm the sense or touch the heart,  
 And mould the passions to thy will.

---

\* Dr. Meredith had been a friend of Sterne and Hall.

Oh thou, endow'd with equal pow'rs  
To wing with mirth the laughing hours,  
Or, as thy melting accents softly float,  
And swell upon the bosom of the air !  
To breathe, at Sorrow's call, the plaintive note,  
And draw for pining love the pitying tear.

Say, by what title shall the muse entwine  
The various wreath for various pow'rs like thine ?  
Say, is thy fancy more inclin'd  
With Hoyden's airs to grace the scene ?  
Or, to an hopeless search resign'd,  
Com'st thou, brave Richard's\* lovely Queen ?  
The wand'rer wakes the mournful strain,  
And soothes the captive monarch's pain !  
Hark ! how the gentle minstrel's well-known song  
Wafts the blest signal through his dreary walls,  
And borne on morning's balmy breath along,  
The banish'd hope of life and love recalls !

But what glad contrast strikes my wond'ring sight  
With all the gay artill'ry of delight ?  
With "quips, and cranks," and smiles like those  
By bards to Hebe's cheek assign'd,  
To Arden's greenwood shade she goes,  
The jocund exile, Rosalind.—  
Again, in pensive charms array'd,  
She speaks, she looks the love-lorn maid ;  
View, ye who can, unmov'd, the treach'rous flame  
On Viola's devoted bosom prey :  
Where passion, veil'd beneath a colder name,  
Consumes her sleepless night and joyless day.

---

\* Richard Cœur de Lion.

Daughter of Nature! Genius unconfin'd !  
 Whose speaking glance proclaims the feeling mind !  
     Where more than beauty points the eye,  
     And lights th' expression of the face ;  
     Whose ev'ry tone is harmony,  
     And ev'ry varied action grace !  
 Already, by the pencil's\* aid,  
 Half our debt of praise is paid ;  
 Nor let the Muse, howe'er unskill'd, deny  
 The kindred tribute of her pen to give ;  
 Tho' with that pencil's work unmeet to vie,  
 Stamp with thy name, the verse perchance may live!

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## L I N E S

ADDRESSED TO MRS. MARGARET WHARTON, (MORE COMMONLY KNOWN  
 BY THE FAMILIAR APPELLATION OF PEG WHARTON.)

ACCEPT, dear Peg, in humble lays,  
 The thanks a grateful heart repays ;  
 Thou, useful lesson to defy  
 The lures of vain Philosophy !  
 Oft has my soul, puff'd up with pride,  
 The truths of sacred writ denied ;  
 And to myself I've sometimes said,  
 " Mankind of *dust* were never made"—  
 Till thou, dear Peg, revers'd my creed,  
 And shewed me,—we are Dirt indeed !

---

\* Drawings from "Twelfth Night" and "As You Like it," inscribed to Mrs. J.  
 by H. W. Bunbury, Esq.

## IRREGULAR ODE

## UPON IRREGULAR PROCEEDINGS.

OH ! Mr. Merry, Mr. Greathead, tremble !  
 The town is threaten'd with the loss of Kemble !  
 Sound the alarm ! Your vocal noses blow !  
 And vent, like Bedlamites, your frantic woe !

## AIR.

The first of critics, first of actors,  
 First of semi-colon factors,  
 Out of patience with the age,  
 Swears, by G—d, he'll quit the stage.

But if the melancholy Muse,  
 On ev'ry sympathizing gale,  
 Would pour her lamentable news  
 In numbers suited to the tale ;  
 Let her catch th' appropriate note  
 From his own sepulchral throat !  
 Rio Verde, Rio Verde.

Tasteless nation, tasteless nation,  
 On ourselves we have brought down  
 Rumours of an abdication,  
 Hung in terror o'er the town !

We, forsooth, must needs be hank'ring  
 After nature, ease, and grace ;  
 Hence, within his bosom cank'ring,  
 Bred the spleen that marks his face.



Who shall now, of all his cronies,  
 To their kind protection take  
 All his *variae lectiones*,  
 Made for variation's sake ?

Who shall piece, and patch, and cobble,  
 Work, by wits perform'd in haste ?—  
 Johnny Bull, you're in a hobble,  
 If you pique yourself on taste !

Who shall fix with equal care  
 Points in doublets—or in speeches ?  
 Who adjust, with such an air,  
 Slash'd soliloquies—or breeches ?

Should the Jordan's influence stealing,  
 'Gainst the rule and line prevail ;  
 Genius, melody, and feeling,  
 Will unwary breasts assail !

Then farewell the dear Black Letter,  
 So inviting to the eye !  
 She'll make us, if she gets the better,  
 Laugh and weep, regardless why.

Earle Southamptonne's ee's and oo's,\*  
 How some *deepe read wyghte* compares,  
 Much I question if she knows ;  
 More I question if she cares.

Little heeding points, that merit  
 Deep research and curious art ;  
 She but takes her author's spirit,  
 And directs it to the heart !

---

\* *Vide* the interesting disputes concerning certain very important MSS.

## RECITATIVE.

Hush'd be your sorrows and your rage suspended !  
 Complaint's superfluous when the occasion's ended.  
 No longer let your dolorific quill  
 The sable tears of sympathy distil ;  
 Relenting John, in pity to mankind,  
 On second thoughts, has chang'd his mighty mind.  
 Yes, he resumes the task of punctuation,  
 And bringing back stray'd commas to their station.  
 Perhaps to his obstetric skill, we yet  
 May for a second *Regent* own our debt—  
 And, gentle hearers, ere I close the strain,  
 Let this prognostication soothe your pain :—  
 As long as Britain shall maintain her ground,  
 And twenty shillings make one sterling pound,  
 So long (should Fate permit them here to stay)  
 Would Mr. Kemble and the Siddons play.

## AIR AND CHORUS.

Good People, pray don't be uneasy,  
 You are threaten'd—the better to please ye—  
     For the devil a step will he budge :  
 You may think what you will of the matter,  
 'Twas only a *Jeu de Théâtre*,  
     And his exit was nothing but—Fudge !  
         Fudge ! Fudge !  
 Their retirement was nothing but fudge !  
                     Da Capo, &c. &c.

## HEROIC EPISTLE

FROM

BECKY, IN THE COUNTRY, TO EWD. T—PH—M, ESQ.

THE NOTORIOUS CONDUCTOR OF "THE WORLD," IN TOWN.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN these elegant lines first fell into our hands, they appeared distinguished by evident marks of that wild and uncultivated genius which is so much the characteristic of their amiable Authoress. Here and there some inaccuracies in the spelling betrayed the irregular luxuriance of her fancy; and there were even some errors discoverable which to the eyes of an undiscerning Reader might pass for vulgarisms.—All these slight blemishes we have taken the liberty to correct, and we flatter ourselves at the same time that we have managed the pruning-knife with such dexterity, as not to destroy by an ill-timed polish that Doric simplicity, which pervaded the whole Composition and formed its chief beauty.

THESE lines soft Becky to her Captain sends,  
Whom goose-quill glories grace and fame attends!  
By Bell carest, the World's important lord,  
By printers' devils dreaded and ador'd!  
Ah, Toppy,\* who but thou could understand  
The zig-zag† pot-hooks trac'd by Becky's hand?  
But thou art kind;—and, in thy partial eyes,  
My want of larning‡ genius well supplies;  
Secure of this, I set my heart at ease;—

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\* Toppy.—Elegans diminutivum.

† This delicate apology for her hand-writing plainly evinces that charming diffidence which is the companion inseparable from great merit, and cannot fail to prejudice every reader in her favour. And we cannot help, at the same time, paying a compliment to her discernment, as, when we reflect upon the hieroglyphics of the original MS. and the pains it cost us to decipher them, her embarrassment seems altogether not without foundation.

‡ "Larning"—Doric.

Who puff'd my acting will my writing praise.  
 E'er since the morn that I from town remov'd,  
 Thy paper has my daily solace prov'd ;  
 Thy flattering paper still resembles thee,  
 And each critique's a billet-doux to me !  
 Ah, Captain, Captain, what a dab you are  
 At writing paragraphs to make one stare !  
 Two or three words—a dash—th' initial letter,  
 Three stars \* \* \* " 'Tis said,"— " We know of,"—  
*" nothing better."*

Ah, that's your way ; and thus you used to write,  
 When first to Becky's soul you gave delight ;  
 Not thy mustachios, whisker'd though thou art,  
 Nor yet thy skirts, curtail'd, enslav'd my heart ;  
 'Twas not thy tongue, though thou'rt fine-spoken too,  
 Nor thy cockade, that did my heart subdue !  
 But 'twas the matchless rhet'ric of thy pen  
 Undid me once, and might undo again !  
 What first delighted is my comfort now,  
 And twines ideal laurels round my brow ;  
 Each morn the World from first to last I—spell,  
 But chiefly on the " News from Cheltenham " dwell !  
 " *The Wells* " I view, in letters large and fair,  
 And empty rows turn'd "*crowded houses*" there.  
 With a sprain'd ancle whilst confin'd I lay,  
 And saw no human face the live-long day,  
 In thy dear lines I found my levee grac'd,  
 By ev'ry "*friend of fashion, genius, taste !*"  
 The King himself sent deputies to know  
 How far'd " the Wells ? " My answer was " So, so."  
 " Her invitations *fir'd the wond'ring crowd,*"  
 " *Amaze too great for plaudits,—deep not loud.*"  
 —Thou wert the cause, dear Top, full well I see,  
 That Della Crusca wrote an Ode \* to me !

---

\* Ode to Simplicity ; addressed to Mrs. Wells.—Vide World.

Great Della Crusca ! (Bard, whom no one knows,)  
 Writes verses equal only to thy prose !  
 Both are alike, so very, very, fine ;  
 Th' intended drift no mortal can divine.  
 And who like Della Crusca can dispense  
 In sounds so swelling such a lack of sense ?  
 While, fixt the dismal ditty to prolong,  
 Anna Matilda voids her simp'ring song ;  
 And Arley with responsive nonsense pays  
 The fair Incognita's seraphic lays ;  
 Each puffing each, in language quaintly terse,  
 The froth of learning and skim-milk of verse !  
 "Such adaptation ne'er was seen before,"\*  
 The writers are unknown, their meaning more !  
 Whoe'er they are, how can they waive their claim  
 To the vast portion they deserve of fame ?  
 Oh, let them forward step, and own in time  
 Those lyric loads obscure, of dark sublime !  
 Perchance, the scribbling Dame (Piozzi hight)  
 The sweet poetic foundlings brought to light ;  
 Or he who, Gothic grandeur's force to prove,  
*The murky tissue of the "Regent" wove !*  
 Which seem'd as Discord's self had wrought the lay,  
*Making the lines to limp of this poor play ; †*  
*Where the faint day-star of plain sense is quench'd*  
*In oceans of Pindaric darkness drench'd !*  
 Perhaps thyself—or, oh, though last not least  
 In love, our friend the Reverend Mr. East !  
 Illustrious names ! like mine, by puffing rais'd,  
 Now by themselves, and now by thee be-prais'd !

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\* Such adaptation ne'er was seen before,  
 His trade a Hog is, and his wit a bore.—ROLLIAD.

† Making the doors to groan of this old mansion.—REGENT.  
 Because the day-star of my peace is gone,  
 Quench'd in the oceans of unbounded night.—REGENT.

By thee, Diurnal Oracle of Taste,  
 Nor less with politics than letters grac'd !  
 Thou taught'st thy Paper's loyal strains to boast  
 What courtly influence gain'd, and freedom lost ! \*  
 Thou'lt write Fox, Sheridan, and Townshend down,  
 And pay thy mite of flatt'ry to the crown.  
 'Twas thine the dire catastrophe to tell,  
 By ruffian force, how Macnamara fell !  
 How the bruise'd bludgeons suffer'd from his head !  
 How brave he fought, and how heroic bled :  
 Then printed letters, sad beyond expression,  
 Like a last dying speech and full confession. †  
 Till by the pathos of his Bully's woes,  
 Thou drew'st Tarpaulin tears down Hood's long nose, ‡  
 'Tis true, 'tis pity tales like these should fail ;  
 A party propt by thee might sure prevail !—  
 Yet courage, man ! the greatest generals meet  
 (Each in his turn) their portion of defeat—  
 Thus I consol'd (nor ill my solace sped)  
 When the hot Lord had well nigh broke your head ! §  
 Such terrors seiz'd me then, as might express  
 One vivid mass of delicate Distress :  
 At length I cried, "Some safer subjects try,  
 And let the shafts of daily scandal fly  
 On those who slight or dread the well-fram'd lie." }

\* Vide all the puffs in behalf of Lord Hood during the late election.

† After this gentleman's supposed assassination, the most doleful epistles were published under his name in the *World* and other Court Papers, filled with dismal details of his unheard-of sufferings, and an ostentatious display of his more than Christian spirit of forgiveness to his unrelenting foes, to be equalled only by the penitential slang of the *Newgate Calendar*.

‡ The fair authoress seems to have had an eye to Milton's—  
 "Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek."

§ Alluding to a young nobleman, who (upon some freedom being taken with his name in the paper) went to Mr. Topham, and with commendable spirit assured that great writer "that if ever he again took the liberty of bringing him into the *World*, he would most certainly send his authorship out of it."

You took the hint and followed my advice—  
 Proceed ! and make a fortune in a trice !  
 For my rapt soul foresees the time shall come  
 Decreed by fate, *The World's* tremendous doom ;  
 Some libel, scribbled in a thoughtless hour,  
 Shall lay thee open to the Law's stern pow'r—  
 Then Bell shall break again, as break he must,  
 And the World-office \* crumble into dust—  
 The flying Merc'ry from its dome shall fall,  
 And universal ruin cover all—  
 But thou superior still in ev'ry loss,  
 Shalt high exalted stand at Charing-Cross ;  
 With lamentable phiz and grievous† grin,  
 Through pillory loop-hole poke thy length of chin !  
 I ken already with prophetic mind,  
 Wh—res, link-boys, b—wds in one rude uproar join'd !  
 Thee, thee, they pelt ! whole storms of rubbish fly,  
 And tears, and rotten eggs run mixt from either eye !  
 Then where shall Becky go ! ah, where retire,  
 When thou no more shall write, nor I inspire ?  
 Those puffs shall cease, which rais'd my former fame,  
 Nought of The World remaining, but the name !  
 Awhile, a draggled drab, I'll trapes the street,  
 And then for refuge to the Lock retreat.

---

\* A building so called, erected in the Strand for the reception of Intelligence.

† "Grievous grin." Did not an absolute necessity for some depth of reading render the supposition improbable, we should be almost tempted to pronounce that the lovely authoress of this pathetic expression had in her mind that passage of Homer, where (describing Andromache) he says, "δακρυιν γιλασασα," "Smiling through her tears," but the impossibility of the lady's reading having extended so far, obliges us to confess the truth of the old proverb, "Great wits jump," as no two ideas can bear a nearer resemblance to each other than the "δακρυιν γιλασασα" of Homer, and the "grievous grin" of Mrs. Wells, though we must own the latter has greatly the advantage.

## E P I S T L E,

IN RHYME,

TO M. G. LEWIS, ESQ. M.P. &amp;c.

---

“Il più ardito Garzon, che di sua etade  
 Fosse da un Polo all' altro, e dall' estremo  
 Lito negl' Indi, a quello ove il Sol cade.”—*Ariosto*.

---

To thee, for whom in rare accordance met,  
 Fashion and sense their ancient feuds forget ;  
 Whose Muse hath ventur'd on a world unknown,  
 With Dante's force, and beauties all her own !  
 Thanks for a respite from Affliction's pow'r,  
 And many a sorrow hush'd for many an hour !  
 Oft has my sick'ning fancy found relief  
 From nearer woes in fair Antonia's grief ;  
 And trac'd, forgetful of my own the while,  
 Ambrosio's wand'rings and the tempter's guile.  
 Well hast thou travell'd to redeem our youth  
 From random censure, pass'd in scorn of truth,  
 That Britain's affluent sons, to all her foes,  
 Where'er they roam, their native soil expose ;  
 In thriftless rambles dissipate their time,  
 And ev'ry folly cull of ev'ry clime.  
 To this effect, how many an apt remark,  
 (Pronounc'd by layman shrewd or learned clerk,)  
 Of candour and profound research the fruit,  
 Thine age, thy talents, and thy hopes refute !



For thou, throughout thy various course, hast caught,  
 Each striking feature, each impressive thought :  
 From dark Teutonic lore, terrific grace ;  
 An easy style, from Gallia's lively race ;  
 Hast sought in Boccace a reprieve from care,  
 Or learnt to dote, with Petrarch, on despair.  
 (Genius, like Virtue, ev'n in sorrow finds  
 A charm unknown to joy in vulgar minds.)  
 Nor has in vain Ferrara's bard for thee  
 Tun'd his wild harp to love and chivalry ;  
 Like our own Shakspeare, mingled grave and gay  
 And twin'd with jocund tales the serious lay—  
 A smile can strict morality suppress  
 At old Anselmo's frailty and distress,  
 When Manto, by the grave civilian's shame,  
 Redeems the forfeit of his tripping dame ?  
 Who does not sigh, when Cloridan is laid,  
 Martyr of friendship, with the valiant dead ?  
 Who but must weep o'er Fiondiligi's doom,  
 The living partner of a dead man's tomb ?  
 Thou not'st, like Radcliffe, with a painter's eye,  
 The pine-clad mountain and the stormy sky ;  
 And, at thy bidding, to my wond'ring view  
 Rise the bold scenes Salvator's pencil drew :  
 On desert cliffs, I hear the raven's scream,  
 And mark the wat'ry moon's uncertain gleam ;  
 'Tis thine to strike, with no inglorious hand,  
 The chords, that whilom echoed through the land ;  
 When erst, at feudal grandeur's princely call,  
 The minstrel's song was heard in Gothic hall,  
 What time, around his hospitable board,  
 The hardy vassals hail'd their bounteous lord.

Thence to the stage, on daring pinion borne,  
 The sons of Taste with pleasure saw thee turn :

And bid, majestic, as erewhile it stood,  
 His castle frown o'er Conway's foaming flood ;  
 While fancy call'd, congenial to the place,  
 Back into life a stern baronial race—  
 " 'Twere well, had that been all," Sir Fretful cries ;  
 " Why let their blood-stain'd apparitions rise ?  
 " Who can forgive so heinous an offence  
 " Against establish'd truths and sober sense ?  
 " Better with —— the beaten track to keep,  
 " Not half awake, and yet not quite asleep ;  
 " Better"——What ! go and con the foppish rules  
 Devis'd by French half wits for French whole fools ?—  
 That code our feelings leave no time to quote,  
 When Jordan plays the scenes which Lewis wrote.  
 Say, oft as night and silence o'er the earth  
 Draw their close veil, and give reflection birth,  
 Is not a spirit, good or ill, confest,  
 In ev'ry virtuous, ev'ry guilty breast ?  
 Does not a voice, that will be heard, pervade  
 The inmost soul in deep retirement's shade ?  
 Does it not calm of innocence the fear ?  
 Does it not yell to prosp'rous vice, " Despair ?"  
 Why then forbid the poet's art to give  
 Corporeal shape 'to what all feel who live ?  
 No mind so firm but oft recurs in thought  
 To *all the priest and all the nurse have taught* ;  
 Mem'ry acknowledges the forms of air,  
 And ev'ry goblin finds acquaintance there.  
 Not so the monstrous brood that shock belief,  
 Palm'd on the town by Morton and O'Keefe ;  
 Who, still with nature and good sense at strife,  
 Profanely style their figures drawn from life :  
 Ev'n Boaden's ghost is surely full as good  
 As Holcroft's characters of flesh and blood,

To which, throughout the year, no day goes by,  
 But gives in ev'ry lineament the lie.  
 Soon shall some wag, to set opinions right,  
 Describe the nymphs of Billingsgate—polite,  
 Soft sentiment from lips of butchers roll,  
 Or with a tender turnkey melt the soul !  
 Since valiant tailors, on the stage let loose,  
 Rouse all the lion rampant—in the goose !  
 And gen'rous Jews unsparingly dispense  
 Pure Christianity and vital pence !

So, when the sign-post painter's art had drain'd  
 Whatever ocean, earth, or air contain'd,  
 His noble patrons, still agog for change,  
 Requir'd new forms of "something rich and strange ;"  
 Then bold O'Daub's creative hand portray'd  
 The swan jet black, the lion fiery red—  
 "Existence saw him spurn her bounded reign,"  
 And look'd at home for sky-blue boars in vain.

Yet works like these diurnal censors crown  
 With garlands of ephemeral renown ;  
 Whilst, in gregarious rapture, fools uprear  
 Their asinine prolixity of ear.

Blest were the times (and such our fathers saw)  
 When modest Genius woo'd the Muse with awe !  
 Few took for inspiration want of bread,  
 And none presum'd to write who ne'er had read :  
 No newsman then with Della Crusca's rhyme,  
 Delug'd their tables just at breakfast time ;  
 No Arleys, of this brazen age the curse,  
 With their own praises prefac'd their own verse :  
 No "*Stranger*" charm'd the un-illumin'd pit  
 With French morality and German wit ;

(Where they, who deem the principle too light,  
 May bless a style, that counteracts it quite :)  
 No mongrel phrase, uncouth to British ears,  
 Perplex'd their hopes or magnified their fears,  
 Now journalists, on mightier changes bent,  
 Make on our tongue their first experiment ;  
 New dogmas in tri-colour'd language teach,  
 And *revolutionize* our parts of speech ;  
 Would fain, like Gallic sophists, urge the storm,  
 And, rav'ning for destruction, roar reform !  
 Three tortur'd words their cabala comprise,  
*Reason, philosophy, and prejudice.*

To them, who yet will hear, let Gallia tell  
 How soon by arts like these her empire fell ;  
 Terms misapplied th' insidious change began,  
 And thence to principles th' infection ran.  
 In vain, alas ! was pleasure leagu'd with pow'r,  
 Their splendid pageant reach'd th' appointed hour ;  
 Confusion hail'd the sign ; with iron hand  
 Remorseless Havock smote the laughing land ;  
 In the once honour'd seat of regal sway,  
 Tigers and apes their savage gambols play !  
 Their high-born fugitives can only shew  
 The cross of honour on the breast of woe ;  
 Of friends the pity, and of foes the scorn,  
 With vain regret their vanish'd grandeur mourn,  
 And vaunt, while bursts of anguish intervene,  
 Their blameless monarch, and their beauteous queen !

So he that roves, as Eastern story tells,  
 Some wild savanna where enchantment dwells,  
 Sees unawares, amid the gloom of night,  
 By genii rais'd, the Palace of Delight ;

Fantastic forms the rich pavilion throng,  
 Weave the gay dance, or raise the choral song ;  
 Unnumber'd lights from crystal branches blaze,  
 Unnumber'd mirrors multiply the rays ;  
 The liquid ruby bounds in many a bowl,  
 In many an eye voluptuous transports roll ;  
 Till some rash hand, in evil hour, profanes  
 The talisman, where potent magic reigns,—  
 At once the revels cease—the tapers die—  
 With dismal shrieks the black-ey'd beauties fly !  
 Deep thunder rolls—an earthquake rocks the ground—  
 The gorgeous fabric crumbles all around !  
 Its place nor arch nor broken columns tell,  
 But where the houries sung, hyænas yell.

How have I wander'd ? Themes like this demand  
 A deeper tone, a more experienc'd hand :  
 Such thoughts, as breathe in Burke's refulgent prose,  
 Or the bright flame in Cowper's lay that glows !

To laugh at folly in her gayest trim,  
 Nor hold her sacred for a great man's whim ;  
 To honour merit in the lowest sphere,  
 Yet not believe it found exclusive there ;  
 To feel a glow which nothing can repress,  
 When talents pierce the cloud of deep distress ;  
 Yet hail them, nothing jealous, when, like thine,  
 Set off by gay prosperity they shine ;  
 Is all my boast—unless, (for who is free  
 From ev'ry spark of latent vanity ?)  
 I think, perhaps, I know what verse should be.  
 Thine without envy, by that knowledge taught,  
 I learnt to prize, to set my own at nought.

WRITTEN ON A BLANK LEAF FACING THE  
TITLE PAGE OF AN ADMIRER POEM.

PLEASURES OF MEM'RY ! oh, supremely blest,  
And justly proud beyond a poet's praise,  
If the pure regent of thy tranquil breast  
Confirm the flatt'ring title of thy lays !  
Pleasures of Mem'ry ! Why, to me,  
The herald still of Misery !  
She makes her fell existence known  
By sighs, and tears, and grief alone.  
I greet her as the fiend, to whom belong  
The vulture's rav'ning beak, the raven's fun'ral song.

Me she reminds of blessings idly lost ;  
Of fair occasion gone for ever by :  
Of hopes too fondly nurs'd, too rudely crost ;  
Yet bids me, loathing light, delay to die.  
For what, except an inborn fear  
Lest she survive, detains me here,  
When all the *life of life* is fled ?—  
What, but the deep inherent dread,  
Lest she, in worlds unknown, resume her reign,  
And realize the Hell that Priests and Poets feign !

## PROLOGUE

TO

## HIGH LIFE BELOW STAIRS,

SPOKEN BY MR. BUNBURY, DECEMBER, 1789,  
AT WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.

WHEN first these scenes our author's pen design'd,  
The force of Ton was partial and confin'd—  
Yet even then, while Fashion yet was young,  
Her rage was catching and her influence strong.  
Swift from the travell'd beau and titled dame,  
Lacqueys and abigails confess the flame!  
The vast ambition fires the menial band,  
And retail follies bloom at second-hand!  
Does Lovelace drink or game?—The fop bestows  
His cast-off follies with his cast-off clothes.  
Does he redeem his losses at Duke's-place,  
And raise supplies from Israel's flinty race?  
His gentleman pursues the same career;  
And damme!—is distress'd—like any peer!  
Follows thro' dissipation's various stages;  
Takes cash upon reversionary wages;  
Like Lovelace' self, his wasting purse recruits,  
And grants post-obits upon birth-day suits!  
—High life's the word! the flame of imitation  
Burns high in ev'ry breast throughout the nation.  
The frenzy rages wide, each passing hour  
Exhibits growing Ton's increasing pow'r—  
O'er ev'ry brain the changeful dæmon flies,  
Now bids toupées to fall and capes to rise!

Now at his word, th' obedient muslin swells,  
And beaux with monstrous craws peep out at pouting  
belles.—

No longer now confin'd to courtly air,  
Taste sweeps resistless on thro' Temple-bar ;  
Above, below, the wild contagion spreads,  
And dreams of Fashion float round city heads !  
Sir Balaam's toils have realiz'd a plumb,  
My lady's spirit kindles at the sum :  
" Lord, lovey, who can breathe in Lombard-street,  
" Haste, let us quit this mercantile retreat !  
" While grubbing here, no fame our wealth bestows—  
" We're nobody that any body knows !  
" How vain the cumbrous pride of Opulence :  
" Let Fashion guide, and Taste direct expense !"  
—Thus speaks the glory of my lord mayor's ball,  
The pond'rous Hillisberg of Grocer's-hall !  
Thus speaks the fair—and gives her wishes vent—  
The passive husband nods a gruff assent.—  
Now civic joys ! and Lombard-street ! farewell—  
My lady quits you all for dear Pall Mall.  
By brilliant equipage and depth of play,  
At length to certain sets she makes her way :  
And gains the point her heart desir'd so long ;  
To flounce and flounder in excess of Ton !—  
—Yet some there are, and those high-life can boast,  
With claims transcending those of wit or toast ;  
Whose rank and fashion are their virtue's foils !

[*Bowing to the audience,*]

—And their applause must recompense our toils !

II. F. R. S.



## TRANSLATION

FROM THE ITALIAN.

To Love, my Laura, let us give  
The little span we have to live ;  
Our moments, swift as arrows, fly  
And wing'd, like them, with destiny.

'Tis not, 'tis not everlasting,  
But to swift destruction hasting,  
The pride of youth's elusive hour,  
Thy peerless beauty's blooming flow'r.

You orb, that now descends to lave  
His axle in the western wave,  
The same, or more refulgent still,  
Shall rise at morn o'er yonder hill.

Tho' winter from the woodlands tear  
Their verdant spoils, and leave them bare ;  
Yet these another spring shall view  
With fairer foliage clothed anew.

Our "*May of life*" alone no more,  
Revolving seasons shall restore;  
And death, o'er man's expiring light,  
Lets fall interminable night.

Once in the "*narrow house of clay,*"  
"*To dumb forgetfulness a prey,*"  
No dreams of joy, no tale of love,  
The deep perennial gloom remove.

Then come, and ere the stern behest  
Of fate forbids us to be blest ;  
While beauty blooms, and passion glows,  
Haste, let us snatch the short-liv'd rose !

Let doting grey-beards ring in vain  
Dull changes on the moral strain ;  
Their frozen maxims nought avail ;  
Our hearts repeat a warmer tale.

To Love then, Laura, let us give  
The little span we have to live ;  
Our moments swift as arrows fly,  
And wing'd, like them, with destiny.

---

WRITTEN AT A CONVENT IN THE KINGDOM OF  
NAPLES, JANUARY, 1795.

Ort has the libertine sought refuge here,  
By want or sickness to devotion driv'n ;  
Renounc'd in form that world he priz'd too dear,  
And bid the dregs of earth aspire to heav'n.  
In this retreat, " Farewell," the lover cries,  
" Ye gay companions of my happier state ;  
" No more shall hearts at ease reprove my sighs,  
But those who scorn'd my weakness mourn my fate !  
" Perhaps ev'n thou, whose marble breast to move  
" My ardent passion fail'd and plaintive song,  
" Thou may'st too late these fatal feelings prove,  
" And wish they ne'er had woke that sleep too long."  
But say, once closed in this monastic fane,  
Do love and pleasure quite renounce their slave ?  
If not, ye woo tranquillity in vain—  
She dwells beyond the cloister—in the grave !

## ON ONE OF SINGULAR MERIT, WHO DIED YOUNG.

How many virtues in how short a date !  
 Those were Free Will :—and this, alas, was Fate !

---

## UNDER A STATUE OF NARCISSUS.

I NUNC, qui pectus glaciale opponis Amori,  
 Semper adest vindex obsequiosa Deo :  
 En aqua, cui mos est alias extinguere flammæ,  
 Ultricem accendit, lege soluta, facem.

---

## ON A STATUE OF NARCISSUS.

EN aqua, contempti subjecta Cupidinis iræ,  
 Ultricem accendit, lege soluta, facem.  
 See Nature aid, with laws revers'd,  
 Insulted Love's design—  
 Water, that quenches other flames,  
 Turn'd fuel, youth, to thine !

*Florence, 1793.*

---

## ON ITALY AND THE ITALIANS.

SURE such a country ne'er was known,  
 On every art refining—  
 Some paint in oil, some grave in stone,  
 And every soul's designing.

## SONG.

WE snapt the golden cord in twain  
That bound my love and me :  
Till each exclaimed, Restore my chain,  
If this be Liberty !  
Welcome the golden cord again  
That binds my love and me !  
Till Life's last hour I'll hug my chain,  
If this be slavery.

---

## FRAGMENT.

SOUR'D, but untam'd, in Disappointment's school,  
He look'd ordain'd to ruin or to rule ;  
Through his dark cluster'd ringlets, here and there  
Shone ere its time a sorrow-silver'd hair ;  
On his pale cheek a bitter smile there sate,  
Which seem'd to mock the impotence of fate ;  
Upon his haughty brow defiance lower'd ;  
Despair was in his hollow eye embower'd :—  
Still, o'er the wild expression of his face  
Would beam, by starts, a momentary grace ;  
Faint emanations of the God were seen  
To indicate the thing he should have been.

## THE RETROSPECT.

ERE the sad lessons of unwelcome truth  
 With chill conviction damp'd the hopes of youth,  
 Ere yet repeated trials had suppress'd  
 Th' elastic impulse of the human breast,—  
 How my gay spirits rose, on buoyant wing,  
 To greet thy mild approach, enlivening Spring !  
 And hail'd each blossom that perfum'd the air,  
 A pledge of months and years to come as fair.

Whither, ye fond illusions, are ye fled ?  
 Why should remembrance live, when joy is dead ?  
 Creation smiles anew—the vernal grove  
 Peals with the hymn of universal love :  
 Nature o'er hill and dale profusely throws  
 The pale forerunner of the expected rose ;  
 While the dark violet from her mossy bed,  
 But half reveals her unambitious head,—  
 Emblem of unobtrusive worth, betray'd  
 By its own fragrance in the lowly shade.  
 The unfetter'd Naiad of this silver stream  
 Bounds and exults beneath the kindly beam ;  
 Freed from her chilling Tyrant's icy chain,  
 She hurries with her tribute to the main ;—  
 Stay, sedge-crown'd Virgin, thou art honour'd here,  
 Thy banks are shelter'd, and thy waves are clear ;  
 Why in such haste to lose thy limpid pride  
 In yonder boist'rous ocean's troubled tide ?

Like some rash stripling, who with scorn surveys  
 The unruffled tenour of his boyish days,

And breaks, impatient of restraint, away  
For turbulent Delight's tempestuous sea ;  
But, mingled with the uproar of mankind,  
Regrets the narrow bounds where once he pin'd,  
And sighs, exposed to every wayward gale,  
For the calm confines of his native vale,  
Where the pure current of his tranquil hours  
Reflected skies serene, and banks of flowers.

To hearts, yet aching with the sense of pain,  
All Nature breathes a monitory strain ;—  
Too late !—Whilst they whose unembitter'd prime  
Might seize the warning, and be wise in time,  
Regardless frolic o'er enchanted ground,  
And draw no moral from the scenes around.  
Still to one race another must succeed,  
Still early wit to late repentance lead,  
Form the same hopes, and find an equal doom,  
While prudence vainly lectures o'er the tomb !

Oh thou ! whose bosom warm with honest pride  
Pants for the conflict of the world untried,  
And full of sanguine youth's ingenuous creed,  
Thinks worth must rise, and talents must succeed,—  
Check the fond impulse they inspire,—and know,  
Full oft the star of Genius sets in woe !  
Direct thy steps to yonder lonely dell,  
Where from the hollow bank the dripping well  
Incessant weeps,—there the funereal yew  
Conceals a cenotaph from vulgar view,—  
Trace the sad record of that mournful stone,  
And, touch'd by Florian's fate, mistrust thine own !  
Heaven had his form with manly beauty graced,  
His mind with force, intelligence, and taste ;  
And bless'd him, oh how far above the throng !  
With reach of thought, and energy of tongue :

Each happier tone of ev'ry chord he hit ;  
 His gravity was sense, his mirth was wit ;  
 His were affections undebas'd by art,  
 The mildest manners, and the warmest heart ;  
 Judgment to cull, and Memory to retain,  
 Free as he ranged thro' Learning's wide domain,  
 From Truth's historic mine the richest ores,  
 The loveliest wreaths from Fancy's rosy bow'rs.

Such as he was, to bleeding friendship dear,  
 He closed in distant climes his short career,  
 Cold calculation seal'd his early doom,  
 And thriftily forecast sent him to the tomb :—  
 Yet there connubial love's assuasive pow'r  
 Calm'd the last struggles of his parting hour :  
 Here let parental grief embalm his name,  
 And long the Muse he cherish'd guard his fame.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Yet Vafer lives, and basks his hours away  
 In full prosperity's unclouded ray :  
 By fortune, in a fit of barbarous mirth,  
 Rais'd as in outrage to afflicted worth ;  
 No generous warmth his bosom ever knew,  
 No passion but what Interest could subdue ;  
 Sordid, yet dissolute ; tho' pompous, mean ;  
 He deems no act disgraceful if unseen,  
 Accounts none criminal but those who fall,  
 And undetected guilt no guilt at all ;  
 Of ev'ry Vice the patron and the slave,  
 But still respected most, when most a knave.

Bless'd be the verse, how harsh soe'er it sound,  
 That gives the callous hypocrite a wound ;  
 Mars the vain object of the worldling's toil,  
 And sweeps to earth the builder and the pile ;  
 Shrivels their cobweb outworks in the dust,  
 Round the strong-hold of Avarice, Pride, and Lust,  
 And on the miscreant, writhing with affright,  
 Flings the red glare of Pandæmonian light ;

\* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*

*Note.*—The character of Florian in this unfinished poem was designed for Charles John Bunbury, Captain in the 52d Regiment, who died at the Cape of Good Hope on his homeward voyage from India in May, 1798, aged 25 years.

---

## EPITAPH.

FOR HIMSELF, WRITTEN A FEW DAYS BEFORE HIS DEATH.

YE sons of thrift, to gentle dulness dear,  
 Whom prudence fattens, and whom fools revere,  
 Jog on ! the outcast on whose grave ye gaze  
 Now holds your Pity—as he held your Praise.  
 If souls, as sages teach, immortal are,  
 The few he loved on earth he'll meet elsewhere.  
 If with the flesh they die, as some suppose,—  
 Go, thank your stars ye have not much to lose.

THE END.



17

18

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